



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Pius IX.









London: Holland & Sons, Feb. 1877.

PIUS IX.

Photographed in the Vatican, November 1877.

PIUS THE NINTH

A BIOGRAPHY

BY

F R A N C I S H I T C H M A N

(WITH A PORTRAIT IN PERMANENT PHOTOGRAPHY.)

I have seen men throng to see him, and
The blind to hear him speak ; matrons flung gloves,
Ladies and maids their scarfs and handkerchiefs,
Upon him as he pass'd : the nobles bended
As to Jove's statue, and the Commons made
A shower and thunder with their caps and shouts.
I never saw the like.

The man was noble
But with his last attempt he wiped it out,
Destroyed his country, and his name remains
To the ensuing age.



LONDON
H O U L S T O N & S O N S
PATERNOSTER SQUARE, E.C.

1878

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WOODFALL AND KINDER,
MILFORD LANE, STRAND. W.C.

Dedication.

TO

ALFRED AUSTIN, ESQ.,

SWINFORD HOUSE, ASHFORD.

MY DEAR AUSTIN,

My little book will tell you nothing which you do not already know and which you could not say a thousand times better than I, but I dedicate it to you because I am honestly more proud of your friendship than of any other circumstance in my life. Judge my work leniently, and believe me always,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANCIS HITCHMAN.

ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, N.W.

February, 1878.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I ASK the reader's indulgence for my little book on two grounds. I have tried to be impartial and I have tried to be brief. With such a subject it would have been more easy to have filled a thousand pages than a hundred, and if one wishes to attract the attention of the thoughtless, bigotry and one-sidedness are sometimes the most effective baits. For such I have not written. My desire has been to show Pius IX. as he was, a devout, kind-hearted man, whose faults were the faults of the Papal system rather than of himself, and who filled a position of unexampled difficulty with remarkable singleness of mind. For brevity I trust I need make no excuse. A careful sketch is better than a careless picture, no matter how big and I hope this little work may be classed under the former head.

F. H.

C O N T E N T S.



CHAPTER I.

| | PAGE |
|-----------------------|------|
| EARLY YEARS | I |

CHAPTER II.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| PRIEST AND BISHOP | 10 |
|-----------------------------|----|

CHAPTER III.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| CARDINAL AND POPE | 14 |
|-----------------------------|----|

CHAPTER IV.

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| A LIBERAL POPE | 18 |
|--------------------------|----|

CHAPTER V.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| THE POPE IN EXILE | 33 |
|-----------------------------|----|

CHAPTER VI.

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| BACK IN ROME | 49 |
|------------------------|----|

CHAPTER VII.

| | |
|--|----|
| PAPAL AGGRESSION AND A NEW DOGMA | 54 |
|--|----|

CHAPTER VIII.

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| THE COMING STORM | 60 |
|----------------------------|----|

| | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| CHAPTER IX. | |
| THE FRANCO-ITALIAN ALLIANCE | 66 |
| CHAPTER X. | |
| THE SYLLABUS | 80 |
| CHAPTER XI. | |
| THE VATICAN COUNCIL | 89 |
| CHAPTER XII. | |
| THE PAPAL JUBILEES | 103 |
| CHAPTER THE LAST. | |
| CLOSING DAYS | 112 |

PIUS THE NINTH.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

" . . . In eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth."

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

IT cannot be denied, by even the most ardent Protestant, that the head of the Roman Catholic Church is one of the most important personages of European society. That vast organization whose ramifications extend over every part of the civilized world looks to the Pope as the visible head and representative of religion, and accepts his decrees with child-like docility and the most utter faith. The dogma of Infallibility, disavowed though it was for a time in certain Roman Catholic manuals, and even stigmatized though it was in some quarters as a "Protestant misrepresentation," has notoriously always existed, if not as a matter of faith, at least as a "pious opinion." *Roma locuta; causa finita est*, was doubtless always true from the time when the ecclesiastical supremacy of early Christianity began to work side by side with the temporal sovereignty of the decaying Roman Empire. And as it was at the first so it

is now. For myriads of human beings, Rome is the court of ultimate appeal. Kings, parliaments and nations may refuse to submit, and may denounce the notion of infallibility as a degrading and subversive theory. The fact, however, remains, that in every civilized country under heaven, and in not a few of those which we call barbarous, there are thousands, even millions, of human beings who accept, and who indeed accepted long before the Vatican Council of 1874 was thought of, the infallibility of the Pope as an article of faith, and who did and do regard his claim as Vicar of Christ upon Earth to be wholly and absolutely beyond the reach of suspicion.

Nor can any one, no matter how fully he may be convinced of the erroneousness of the Papal system, deny that Pius IX. has fulfilled the duties of his exalted office with success and with conscientiousness. His saintly purity of life, his obvious and earnest devotion, his unbounded charity, and the simplicity of his personal habits, have together sufficed to create for him a character such as none can despise and all must envy. Nor can even his opponents refrain from paying a tribute of admiration to the abstinence from nepotism which has characterized his whole official life. Other popes have used their exalted rank to provide places for their "nephews" or their more distant relations, and nothing has been thought out of the way in their doing so. With Pius IX., the case has always been very different. Even Vésinier, the hero of the Commune, who wrote a life of the Pope so full of indecent and atrocious scandals that no printer ever dared to put his name to it, has been able to rake up no calumny of this kind, while his friendly biographers recall with satisfaction that, when after his election to the Papacy he first took up his residence in Rome, he resolutely refused to use his high office for family purposes.

Two of his brother's sons came to him from Sinigaglia, supposing that their newly exalted uncle would, as the phrase goes, "make their fortunes." One he sent back to his home; the other he sent to a seminary with the warning that he would benefit him only as he deserved. Nor did he squander his wealth upon himself at any time. For many years he lived upon three *lire* a day, and the author of "Celebrities at Home" has described the singularly simple and unostentatious manner of life of the Holy Father since his accession to the tiara. In short the impartial observer is forced to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the mistakes of the Pope's political career, they were mistakes from the intellectual point of view alone, and that in all points of moral criticism his life has been well nigh irreproachable.

Pius IX.—or, to give him his full baptismal name, Giovanni Maria Gianbattista Pietro Pellegrino Isidoro Mastai-Ferretti—was born at Sinigaglia on the 13th of May, 1792. His father was gonfalonier of Sinigaglia, a gentleman in the strictest and most literal sense of the term. The office which he held is one somewhat akin to that of prefect of a department in France, akin also to that of a county magistrate in England, but with powers at once larger and more restricted than those of either official. It is valued not for its emoluments, but because it is never conferred, save upon gentlemen of ancient family and irreproachable character, and with both of those requirements the gonfalonier of Sinigaglia complied. Giovanni-Maria was the eldest of eight children, four sons and four daughters, and, as usual with families of a certain rank in Italy, he was destined for the military life, or rather for such an imitation of the military life as is to be found in service in the "Noble Guard." Very little is known about his early days, and his enemies have conse-

quently supplied their lack of knowledge from the treasures of their invention.

The friends of the Pope, especially those of French education, perhaps hardly less untrustworthy than his enemies, have told a host of palpably apocryphal stories of his youthful saintliness, and of the signs which even in his schooldays he gave of the high vocation to which he was called. If we are to believe these reverend panegyrists, Pius IX. was from his earliest years somewhat "too great and good for human nature's daily food." It is not exactly stated that he worked miracles—that was to come later on—but he was something so ethereal and so exalted, that words could not paint the bliss of fellowship with him even in his schoolboy days. On the other hand, his enemies find it impossible to say too much in his dispraise. He was, according to these persons—for whose veracity it is impossible to vouch—an idle, careless, sickly boy, with all a boy's weaknesses, and none of his virtues. When he left school at sixteen, he was hopelessly ignorant, and he has not mended since. He had, indeed, they tell us, a pretty knack of making verses, and he was very ardent and enthusiastic. As a matter of course, it is added, he was somewhat precocious, but into these details one does not care to follow the moralists of the Republic and of the International. Their niceness is so very nice as to become sometimes very nasty.

The infamous Vésinier describes his youth as having been passed in profligacy and vice of the lowest type. He was, according to this authority, abandoned from his earliest days to idleness, luxury, and sensuality. His love of gambling was insatiable, and finding the taste a costly one, he applied, says this writer, to his brother Joseph, who was "*inspecteur des jeux de hasard à Ancône qui lui donna des*

bons et utiles avis et des leçons efficaces sur l'art de corriger la fortune." On the same authority we learn, with probably the same amount of truth, that at an early age the future Pope became a Freemason. Crétineau-Joly and Victor Hugo have repeated the charge, but it appears to rest in the main on the testimony of Vésinier, from which the value of the story may readily be estimated. Some of these stories it is, however, only fair to say, have been in a measure confirmed. One writer describes him as strolling about the few streets of Sinigaglia in a costume "half-civil, half-military, with a dash of the barber's boy in it," and dwells with spiteful unction on his red cravat, and on the stripes down the seams of his pantaloons—matters which, to the unsophisticated Englishman, will probably seem of infinitesimal importance. It is of more consequence to know that, having in view the probability of entering the "Noble Guard," he really seems to have taken some pains to fit himself for his future profession. He studied his drill book, we learn from the same unwilling witness, he rode much, and he learned to sing, to play the flute and the violoncello; but we are further told he took to smoking and to drinking deeply—charges which are probably wholly undeserved. Men who do these things before they are of age seldom lose the habit, and, as a matter of fact, seldom live long enough to do so. All these tales are in short about equally doubtful. The young Count Mastai Ferretti was probably much like other lads of eighteen or twenty, who have some small command of money, and not very much to do; but it is impossible to believe that the kind-hearted old man, whose stainless private life for more than half a century has been admired even by those who most cordially detest the system he represented, could ever have been the monster of profligacy, or even the

abject slave of vanity, which it has pleased the Crétineau-Jolys, the Vésiniers, and the Petrucellis of the period to represent him. The very circumstantiality of some of these tales exhibits their improbability. Vésinier, indeed, talks of the Countess A, and the Duchess B, with whom he accuses the Pope of having had ambiguous relations, but it is impossible to identify the persons, and it is equally impossible to believe that a low-lived scoundrel, whose books are too filthy for honest publishers to touch them, should be aware of facts concerning which all other writers are ignorant. The one case which has about it a shadow of probability, is that of a lady now or very recently living—Signora Ambrogi, widow of the well-known singer of that name. Pius IX. is said to have been greatly in love with her in the days of his youth, and she is said to have recalled these love passages in certain recent letters and petitions, no one of which has been answered. True or false, the story has been made the pretext for assailing the Pope, on the double ground of profligacy in youth, and hard-heartedness in age—accusations which are doubtless as true in one case as in the other. In later years it was asserted that Pius IX. had been a Carbonaro in early manhood; but as this tale rests upon a mere “it is said,” it may be safely dismissed.

Passing over these very dubious stories then, it will be sufficient to recall the fact that at two-and-twenty, when hesitating as to the choice of a profession, and in very delicate health from epileptic attacks, which had seized him at an early age, he was admitted into the “Noble Guard.” Had he been the reprobate it has pleased the devotees of Red Republicanism to represent him, he could hardly have done this. It would be just as reasonable to suppose that a known gambler and blackleg would be admitted into our own Coldstream Guards. Even the protection of Pius VII.,

who had just returned to Rome, and with whom the young Count Mastai was connected by blood, would not have sufficed in such a case.

He was not, however, destined to stay long in the Noble Guard. The nervous malady which had made his youth a burden to him increased upon him so rapidly that the greatest fear was felt for his life. Under the advice of the Pope he exchanged the sword for the cassock, and entered the College of Volterra, where he had for his tutor the famous Father Inghirami, the astronomer, who was afterwards tutor to the notorious Felice Orsini, whose attempt on the life of Napoleon III. will be fresh in the minds of most readers. His health was still extremely delicate, and remained so up to the time of his ordination. A writer in the *Ami de Religion* even asserts in a very circumstantial manner that the attacks of epilepsy were so numerous and so severe, that up to the day of his ordination it was a question whether he could be allowed to enter upon the priestly office. He was himself painfully sensitive on the subject, but Pius VII. conjured him to dedicate himself to the Virgin and to pray to her continually for health. He did as he was advised; was well enough to be ordained, said his first mass, and has never suffered from any return of his disease. This is, however, somewhat anticipating matters. Count Mastai remained a layman until 1817, and even then obtained only minor orders; he was not ordained deacon until 1818, or priest until the following year.

Various reasons have been assigned for this delay. The fact would seem to be that the young Mastai was in very delicate health, and that it was doubtful if he would ever be well enough to be fit for the priesthood. As is well known, the Church of Rome discourages the aspirations of sick and impotent persons for the higher places in her

service, and that a lame or blind man is never ordained priest. Putting aside the pious fable, we can very readily believe, with a later writer, that ordination was delayed on account of the young Mastai's bad health, and can see nothing very improbable in the assertion of some of his Italian critics, that he would never have been ordained at all but for his relationship to the reigning Pope, and that so far from his having suffered no relapse, he has been liable to frequent attacks. It is, however, worthy of note, as illustrating the petty malignity with which conspicuous persons are sometimes pursued, that an English writer has thought it decent, whilst treating this subject, to assert that these epileptic attacks have been so frequent that of late years the Pope has never dared to say a mass without an assistant on each side to rescue the sacred wafer in case of need. The poor man had obviously never heard of deacons and subdeacons, and their functions, but the religious society which published his book ought to have been able to correct it.

Whilst thus passing through his novitiate, Pius VII., who appears to have entertained feelings of genuine kindness for his young kinsman, appointed him to the charge of a hospital for orphan children. Here the kindly, tender nature of the man found room to develop itself. If—and it is difficult to see why we should not—we are to credit the words of one of the pupils in that orphanage, the young principal found the way to the hearts of the children from the first. He was a veritable father to all of them, not merely in the austere spiritual, but in the warm paternal way, which children appreciate so much more cordially. “His face was radiant with love,” says the ex-pupil, “and the pockets of his cassock contained always some sweet-meat or some toy for those of us who had been *sages*. . . .

It was a melancholy day for us when we knew that he was to leave us ; we clung to him weeping ; we kissed his hands, his skirts—nay his very shoes, and he—he mingled his tears with ours.” His detractors assert that there cannot be any truth in this story, and that the position he occupied was merely that of house steward, or administrator, the duties of which would not bring him into personal relation with the children. It is, however, not very easy to follow this reasoning, since, as a matter of fact, he must have been constantly about the convent, and nothing could be more natural than that he, a kind-hearted man, fond of children, and not occupying a tutorial or disciplinary position, should have contrived to make himself greatly beloved by those about him. Children are easily won, especially children of southern blood, and the “sweetmeats and toys” would, it is impossible to doubt, exercise an important influence over their minds and memories.

CHAPTER II.

PRIEST AND BISHOP.

“First his integrity
Stands without blemish.”—*Measure for Measure*.

GIOVANNI MASTAI left the foundling hospital in 1823, when, having attracted the attention of the Apostolic Delegate Muzzi, he was taken by him upon a mission, partly religious and partly diplomatic, to Chili.

This journey was a curious one. The party, in which Mastai held the not very important post of secretary, went from Rome to Genoa, intending to sail at once. When they arrived at that port, however, the master of the ship delayed his departure on the ground that a part of his cargo had not yet arrived. Whilst Muzzi and his companions were waiting, the news arrived that Pius VII. was dead, and before the ship sailed, the young Mastai had the pleasure of knowing that, though he had lost a friend in the late Pope, the new one was his especial protector, the Cardinal Della Genga, best known to history as Leo XII.

When at last the party got away from Genoa, the autumn was well advanced and the weather was most unfavourable. In one of those Mediterranean storms which are the terror of navigators, the ship was driven on shore near Palma, and troubles with the local authorities arose at once. The ship was on a voyage to the revolted colonies of Spain, and therefore, in spite of her neutral character, she was held to be aiding and abetting treason against the Spanish Government. It was not until after a long period of deten-

tion in quarantine, and even of imprisonment in the common gaol, that the secretary of the expedition could communicate with the consuls of Sardinia and Austria, and with the Bishop of Majorca, through whose intervention he and his companions in misfortune were at last released. Through these delays the party, which had left Rome on the 3rd of July, 1823, did not reach Buenos Ayres until the 1st of January, 1824. Their mission was a failure. The Republics did not want priests, and dreaded their influence. Mgr. Muzzi at Buenos Ayres was not allowed to hold a confirmation, Vicar Apostolic though he was, and at Santiago, though the people thronged to their services, the Government did all in its power to discourage them. So far was this carried, that at one time the mission was practically in a state of starvation.

This journey was, in a sense, the turning point of Mastai's fortunes, for although he had but little to do, and that little of a by no means important character, he had exhibited so much discretion and common sense that Mgr. Muzzi recommended him for promotion immediately on his return in 1825. There can, moreover, be little question that the change of air, of scene, and of mode of life involved in a journey which extended, practically, round the world, were of the utmost benefit to his health. At all events, to the profane world without, it seems much more reasonable to attribute the robust health which the Pope enjoyed during his later life rather to these wholesome influences than to miraculous interposition. He had scarcely returned when he took his first step up the ladder of promotion. A canonry in St. Peter's falling vacant, he was at once appointed to it, and at the same time he took charge of the Apostolical Hospital of St. Michael, a vast establishment on the right bank of the Tiber, in which the aged

poor are cared for, and destitute and neglected children are educated and taught trades. By way, apparently, of giving dignity to his new office, he was consecrated bishop (*in partibus*, of course), but in a very short time he was promoted to a regular episcopal charge. Leo XII. was not less well disposed to the future Pope than his predecessor, and gave him, accordingly, the first vacant bishopric which fell into his hands. This happened to be the archbishopric of Spoleto—a dignified if not a very important office—which the youthful Mastai Ferretti held from 1827 until 1832. In the latter year, Leo XII. and his successor, Pius VIII. (who reigned for only twenty months) being dead and the Papal throne occupied by Gregory XVI., the future Pope became Bishop of Imola. This change was really a promotion, strange though it may seem to English ears to find that an Archbishop would often gladly renounce his superior title for the inferior dignity of Bishop. Spoleto is to this day one of the poorest archdioceses of Italy: Imola is by no means one of the poorest of episcopal sees, shorn though it now is of much of its wealth. If we may believe the statements of his ecclesiastical biographers, his conduct in this diocese was such as to form a model for Victor Hugo's good bishop in *Les Misérables*. Bishop Mastai lived but to do good. His charities were unbounded. To be poor and wretched and friendless was to command the shortest way to his heart. To the starving beggar he would give the dinner from his own table and content himself with a crust; to the sick he would give the sheets from his bed; to children in want of food he offered the last farthing that he possessed. Once, when utterly without money, a poor woman pleaded urgently for help. He had nothing, but took a spoon from his table, which he told her

to pledge for her necessities. The tale would never have been heard of but that the woman was arrested and revealed the name of her benefactor. Once, while at Imola, a conspiracy against the Church was detected, of which he was to be one of the first victims. He sent for the ringleaders, warned them of their danger, and supplied them with the necessary funds for their escape. Another tale, redounding equally to the credit of his benevolence and of his wit, is told by a hostile biographer. In these troubled times the police were abnormally active, and the spy system had reached an inordinate height. Men hardly dared to speak to their best friends, for fear lest they should be denounced, and silence reigned in every place of public resort. One winter's day a police agent made his way into the presence of the bishop, and presented him with a lengthy paper, on which were written the names of about a hundred persons who were implicated in a conspiracy of some sort. The bishop, who was standing by the fire, took the document and read it through carefully. When he had done so, he turned to the spy, who was standing in expectation of his reward, and said, "My friend, you do not understand your trade. When the wolf descends upon the fold, he does not begin by telling the shepherd," with which words he dropped the list into the fire, and dismissed his visitor. These stories, as we have said, may or may not be true, but there is something about the character of the man which gives them an air of probability they would not otherwise possess. His personal tastes have always been simple, and even his sworn detractors of late years have found nothing worse to say of him than that he loved clean linen and unmended silk stockings; whilst his charity and gentleness towards those who were only personally opposed to him has never been impugned.

CHAPTER III.

CARDINAL AND POPE.

"Look where the Holy Legate comes apace,
To give us warrant from the hand of heaven."

King John.

IT was natural that such a bishop should early be promoted to the Cardinalate. He had, however, to wait until 1840 before his additional dignity became known to the world, and even then he took a by no means prominent place. The party of reaction and the party of reform divided the Sacred College between them, and Cardinal Mastai appears to have striven to keep a middle course with such success that, at the death of Gregory XVI., in 1846, no one seems to have known what his political or ecclesiastico-political views really were. The death of the Pope was followed by the usual difficulties in the election of his successor. The Liberal section of the Cardinals put forward Cardinal Gizzi—a man of celebrity in 1846, but forgotten now—whilst the reactionary party nominated Cardinal Lambruschini, Archbishop of Genoa, and Cardinal Secretary of State to Gregory XVI.—a man of infinitely greater ability, though of narrower views. No agreement could, however, be arrived at, but in the words of the *Ami de Religion*, "Heaven had made its own choice." From the first it was evident that Cardinal Mastai was destined to election. Summoned to Rome from Imola, he set out amidst the tearful congratulations of a devoted people, and on his way he "was miraculously pointed out as the elect of God by the presence of a dove which alighted on his

carriage at a small town in the Marches, and rode on it into Rome, only leaving it to alight on the door of the prison in which the political offenders were immured." Once afterwards, and once only, did the dove reappear. The final ballot was being taken, and in the sight of countless observers, the dove hovered about the door of the council chamber. Under whatever direction the election may have been made, however, it is quite certain that the motives which induced the Sacred College to choose Cardinal Mastai were somewhat mixed. Parties there were very evenly balanced, and each thought that by supporting the candidature of a moderate, an opportunity would be created for bringing the new Pope over to its side. The time spent over the election was thus unusually short. The impossibility of carrying either Gizzi or Lambruschini being recognized, no other name than that of Mastai was brought forward ; and on the 16th of June, 1846, he was declared fully elected.* The balloting had begun on the 14th of the month ; the coronation of the new Pope under the name of Pius IX. took place on the 21st, amidst an amount of popular enthusiasm such as the Papacy has rarely been able to excite. The reputation of the good Bishop of Imola had preceded him to Rome, and added to it was that grateful sense of favours to come which may always be expected in an oppressed and enslaved people.

Popes are not long-lived sovereigns as a rule. Hence

* It is worthy of remark that the delay of another day would probably have invalidated the election of Mastai Ferretti. He was supported by the influence of France, but Austria strongly objected to his election, and sent Cardinal Gaysbruck, Archbishop of Milan, with a veto. The Cardinal, judging the present by the past, loitered on his way, and arrived in Rome only just in time to find the election over.

there is nothing very surprising in the fact that Pius IX. was the two hundred and sixty-second incumbent of his exalted office. The Conclave had probably little idea of what it was doing when it elected a man of fifty-two, of whom very little was known with certainty, and who was recommended to his "venerable brethren" chiefly by the fact that his election was thought to be a compromise between the Liberalism of Gizzi and the Ultramontanism of the Absolutist Lambruschini. Nor probably had the new Pope any very definite idea of what lay before him when he wrote the following letter of proud humility to his brothers :—

" 16th June, 1846.

" DEAREST BROTHERS GIUSEPPE AND GAETANO,—

" The blessed God, who casts down and who raises up, has thought fit to exalt my lowness to the most awful dignity which exists on this earth. His holy will be done for ever.

" I know, to some extent, the almost immeasurable seriousness of so awful a charge, and I know also my own poverty, if I may not say nothingness, of spirit. Cause prayers to be offered, and pray yourselves for me.

" The Conclave lasted forty-eight hours.

" If the Commune of Sinigaglia should think fit to expend money in making demonstrations, arrange, for indeed I desire it, that the sum to be spent shall be laid out in things useful to the city, according to the judgment of the gonfalonier and syndics.

" For yourselves, dear brothers, I embrace you with all my heart in Jesus Christ, but, far from exulting, pity your brother, who sends to all of you the Apostolic benediction.

" PIO NONO."

It will not improbably be said that this is a most meagre account of the episcopal career, and election to the pontificate of the Pope who has filled the largest place in the eyes of the world since the days of Peter. To this charge a plea of guilty may at once be entered. The story is meagre for the simple reason that there is nothing of general interest to tell. Up to the time of his elevation to the Popedom, Pius IX. had lived the ordinary life of the Catholic bishop—eminently respectable, rather commonplace, and rather dull. In the fifty-two years which he had passed he had done little harm and some good. He had never been distinguished as a preacher ; he had kept aloof from politics ; he was known to comparatively very few, and to them chiefly as a man of moderate views, against whom no scandal had been recorded, and in whose favour a great many people could conscientiously speak. Such, at least, is the verdict at which most people will be likely to arrive after duly weighing the compilations, worthy of Grub Street in its worst days, which pass current as “Lives of Pius IX.” at the ecclesiastical booksellers’, the partisan pamphlets of the Company of Jesus, and the infamous and libellous productions of Vésinier and his associates. As for the pamphlets which profess to give secret and special information as to what happened at the Conclave which elected him, which tell how his anxiety was such that he nearly lost his election through nervousness during the scrutiny, and a host of similar details, it can only be said, no reliance can be placed on them. Conclaves are secret bodies, and, whatever the faults of the Roman hierarchy may be, its members are hardly likely to degrade themselves to the position of a Yankee “interviewer,” or the average London Correspondent of a provincial newspaper.

CHAPTER IV.

A LIBERAL POPE.

“This new and gorgeous garment, Majesty,
Sits not on me so easy as you think.”

Henry IV., part 2.

THE position of the new Pope, when he first placed himself upon his throne, was one of no ordinary difficulty. Two powerful parties were agitating the State: the one, in the direction of reaction against the popular tendencies of the day; the other, favouring concession to the demand for constitutional government. The former pushed to its extremest limit the theory of the Divine right of sovereigns, and had, practically, re-established the Inquisition in its worst form; whilst the latter had embraced, to some extent, at least, the theories of the revolutionary party. For the new Pope to side with either party was simply to offend the other, and to raise up for himself a host of enemies at his very door. Naturally, every one wished to see whom the “Papa Rè” would nominate as his Prime Minister or Cardinal Secretary of State. For the time, Pius kept all parties in suspense. He was acting, it was tolerably well known, under the influence of Padre Ventura, and it was equally well known that Ventura—one of the best and most honourable men in the Roman Communion—lived under the impression that the Church and modern society might be reconciled if only the former could be induced to make concessions in the direction of liberty. Knowing all this, the Roman people waited with more patience than could be expected for the delayed

fulfilment of their hopes. They had welcomed the accession of Pius the Ninth with all the enthusiasm of the race to which they belonged, and they naturally expected that he would respond to their ardour by proclaiming at once, as is customary on such occasions, a general amnesty for political prisoners. This concession was the more anxiously looked for since there were at the accession of Pio Nono an unusual number of such victims of absolutism in the prisons of the State. When, however, days and weeks went by without the prison doors being opened, the Roman populace, long patient, grew angry. They had not, however, time to proceed to anything like extremities, when the amnesty came—free, full, and all but unconditional. About a thousand persons were in prison or in exile for political offences, and, disguise the fact how we may, it cannot be denied that in many cases those offences were of the gravest kind—precisely the same, in short, as those of the Fenians, who for so long a period vexed the peaceable and law-abiding subjects of these realms. There was, therefore, nothing harsh in the requirement that each person who profited by the amnesty should promise “on his word of honour not to abuse this act of the Pope's sovereign clemency at any time or in any manner,” or that he should be called upon to pledge himself “to fulfil faithfully all the duties of a good and loyal subject.” The Romans at all events were grateful for the boon. The enthusiasm of the people rose again to fever heat, and when, a few days later, the Swiss Guard—always hated in Rome—was disbanded, the popular gratitude knew no bounds.

Nor did the tide of enthusiasm meet with a check for some time to come. Still under the advice of Padre Ventura, the new Pope entered upon a series of measures concerning the Liberalism of which there could be no

doubt. He began by appointing the late Liberal candidate for the tiara, Cardinal Gizzi, to the all-important office of Cardinal Secretary of State, and he entered upon a course of Liberal measures which amply sufficed to induce the Roman people to condone everything which they might otherwise have stigmatized as irresolution and procrastination. As a beginning, the Ghetto—that shame of Christian Rome—was cleared ; and it may be noted here that what Mr. Robert Browning calls “the bad business of the Sermon” (when a Cardinal preached to the Jews on Holy Cross Day, and was rewarded by the instantaneous conversion of a dozen of the most disreputable of the Hebrew community) was wholly abolished under the reign of Pius the Ninth. This was, however, but a small thing. It was of far more importance that the reactionary Cardinals at the foreign legations were recalled and replaced by men of more liberal and conciliatory temper, and that the enormous and even outrageous expenditure of the Papal Court—an expenditure which had been growing up under the management of the last four Popes at an astonishing rate—should be cut down to a reasonable sum. The greatest achievement of all was, however, when a decree came forth from the Papal Chancery announcing that the clergy must pay their share of the taxes equally with the laity. Hitherto they had been a superior caste, free from taxes, free from civil obligations, and distinguished from the laity mainly by their extraordinary privileges. The joy of the people at discovering that the clergy were to be taxed like themselves can hardly be exaggerated, and it probably sufficed, as a contemporary writer asserts, to eclipse the good that was done by the Commission on the reform of the law, by the creation of industrial associations, and by the introduction of a long series of measures for the exclusive benefit

of the working classes. All these things put together, however, fully account for the popularity of the Pope at this period of his career. It is no exaggeration to say that in 1846-7 Pio Nono was the most popular sovereign, not merely in his own confined dominions, but throughout the civilized world. The Catholic sovereigns felt themselves constrained to follow in the path which he had trodden first, and the Republican leaders, having watched his course, lent to him their ardent support. Even England, which is apt, not always with the best reason, to pride itself on the sobriety of its judgment, followed in the wake of Italy ; and if Pius IX. had visited this country in the Spring of 1847, he might not improbably have met with as warm a reception as was afterwards bestowed upon Kossuth or Garibaldi.

All this enthusiasm, however, was based upon an unhappy misunderstanding. The people alike of Rome and of Italy imagined that the new Pope, in conceding a certain amount of personal liberty and of administrative reform, had conceded also that of freedom of thought. Nothing, however, was farther from his intentions. He was, even in 1846, utterly convinced of the infallibility of the Church of Peter, and incapable of believing in the bare possibility of error on its part. An encyclical of that year, in fact, puts forward claims almost absolutely identical with those sanctioned by the Vatican Council. The reforming party pressed him to make certain concessions ; he was willing to do all that charity could call upon him to do, but when principle came into question he roundly declared that he had "not the smallest intention of damning himself to please the Liberals." As a matter of course there was a good deal of discontent. It was natural that Republicans of the more extreme section should complain of the tardiness of the Pope in initiating reforms, but the discontent was not

confined to such men as Balbo, Ricciardi, and Mazzini. On every hand complaints were heard, and even those who had welcomed the new Pope as their deliverer in June, 1846, were by the summer of 1847 ready to condemn him fiercely. He had promised law reform, he had promised certain guarantees of political liberty, he had promised to give arms to the National Guard—not one of these promises had been fulfilled. Worst of all, the promised liberty of the Press had not been conceded. No Roman citizen could publish book or pamphlet without submitting his manuscript to the Censorship, whilst the restrictions on the newspaper press were so numerous, and so rigidly enforced, that the principal business of the editors must have been to consider how they might best escape prosecution. Even the Commission on Law Reform was a failure. It might report, but nothing could be done without the assent of the Ministry, and in that body were included all the most reactionary of the Cardinalate and Episcopate. It was at this time that the French ambassador at Rome, wrote to Guizot that “nothing has been done until now but making promises and proposals; nothing has been created save commissions which will not work. It is consequently not astonishing that the country is suspicious and disquieted. The Pope is not accused of duplicity, but he is more than suspected of weakness.” In these words we have the secret of the rapid decline of the Pope’s personal popularity, as in the events which followed may be traced the meaning of his sudden restoration to power and influence.

The festival of the accession of Pio Nono to the tiara was celebrated in 1847 with an enthusiasm which had in it a certain amount of menace. The Pope himself was not unpopular, but his ministers were most assuredly out of harmony with the popular sentiment. Cardinal Gizzi was

not a man who was likely to shut his eyes to the facts, and professedly in the interests of the Pope and of his government, he ordered the police to suppress political gatherings of every kind. The unpopularity of this step can hardly be over-estimated. It was, however, outdone by the refusal of the Cabinet to sanction the creation of the long-desired National—or rather in this case Civic—Guard. The citizens of Rome had begged for this boon for generations, and when a liberal Pope came to the throne they had fondly hoped that it would be granted without delay. To it, however, the Ministry, acting under the influence of Gizzi, was as bitterly opposed as to the concession of liberty of the Press and the right of public meeting. In this matter, however, the Pope determined to act for himself, and in the middle of July he put forth one of those arbitrary manifestoes which an absolute monarch may issue, though a constitutional sovereign is incapable of them. A proclamation, *ex proprio motu*, conceded the popular demand, and was received by the Roman people with enthusiasm.

Once more Pius IX. was the Liberal Pope, the Pope of the people, and the reactionaries found themselves in something worse than a minority. Gizzi took the rather rude hint, and retired at once and for ever from power. From this time forward the name of this Cardinal disappears from European politics, and his influence seems to have disappeared with his name. It is possible that he might have faded out in a less abrupt and ignominious manner had it not been for the discovery of a particularly stupid plot, which brought about sundry grave complications in the politics of Europe. The details are even now somewhat obscure, but the facts would seem to be, that the reactionary party amongst the Cardinals thought that the Pope was too much under the domination of Liberal ideas and of their expositors, and that if they

could but isolate him they might have their own way unmolested. They had therefore invented a brilliant scheme for carrying the Pope away from Rome to some place where he might be under such an amount of restraint as would prevent him from being more than a puppet in the hands of his advisers. It is commonly reported, and apparently with truth, that the scheme was known and not disapproved at Vienna, and the best proof of the truth of this conclusion is, that on the day on which the plot was to have broken out the Austrian troops entered Ferrara.

Happily for himself, the Pope had replaced Cardinal Gizzi by a relation of his own—Cardinal Ferretti—who was equal to the occasion. He checkmated the Sacred College, destroyed their plot, and on the day of the outbreak of that foreign war which the Roman people had so much dreaded, he made some of its details known. The wisdom of this stroke of policy was at once evident. The waning enthusiasm of the populace for the Holy Father was stimulated to the highest pitch. The people flew to arms, and the newly-created Civic Guard pledged themselves to secure the personal safety of the Pope. The Government took a bold and unmistakable attitude. Ferretti protested, in terms which there could be no possibility of mistaking, against the action of the Austrian Government, and the Roman people enthusiastically supported him. Outside Rome the enthusiasm spread, and an opportunity offered itself for the creation of a united Italy which a statesman-like Pope would not have allowed to slip.

Unhappily Pio Nono, though astute and ingenious in no common degree, has done hardly anything to entitle him to rank as a statesman. In 1847, Italy was at his feet. Against his own will he had become the most liberal of Italian sovereigns, and had he

chosen to accept the situation, there was in 1847 literally nothing to prevent his binding the entire country into a federation of which he might have been the head. Something of the kind had obviously been in his thoughts at various times—a fact which is evident from the care which the new administration bestowed upon the customs union. That union was completed under the care of Cardinal Ferretti, and following it came the establishment of a species of Parliament—a chamber of the notables—elected by the various provinces, and presided over by Cardinal Antonelli. With this chamber the position of the Pope must have been something like that of the hen which hatched the duck's eggs. The Chamber had been created to satisfy Italian demands, and to create something like peace in the country. Unfortunately for the Pope, the people were not willing to be satisfied with the *simulacrum* of Liberty. They wanted a real and constitutional freedom, and they did not think that all had been done when an assembly which could be called representative only by the merest technical fiction was brought together under a genuine representative of absolutism. Curiously enough, the chamber shared the feelings of the people. Its first demands were for concessions such as the Pope had never even dreamed of. It asked for the federation of Italy, for the abolition of the lottery, for liberty of the Press, for the emancipation of the Jews, and for the expulsion of the Jesuits. That these demands should have been made was significant enough, but of course the Pope could concede nothing. In 1847, as in 1877, *non possumus* was the motto of the Papal Government. In one thing only would he yield—he summoned a Ministry, the members of which were not all ecclesiastics, though the clerical element was necessarily preponderant. Day by day, however, the affections of

the Roman people became increasingly estranged from their sovereign pontiff, and when the fatal year 1848 opened, everything was ripe for revolution. In the Papal Court the councillors of Gregory XVI. had maintained their ascendancy, but in the streets and lanes of Rome a new and more powerful element was at work. The moderate party, under its influence, had given place to the revolutionary—otherwise the “red”—section of politicians. All through January the storm was seething, and when February opened, the people had made so much progress that they demanded in unmistakable terms a constitution with all necessary guarantees. Cardinal Ferretti had seen the storm approaching, and prudently retired before it burst. When the moment of trouble came the helm of the state was in the hands of no more able a politician than Cardinal Bonfanti. The Cardinal was a good and amiable man, but he was most assuredly not a statesman, and was by no means fitted for the post of leader. His one idea of policy was that of opposing everything that in the smallest degree approached Liberalism, or even Constitutionalism in politics. Infallibility had not in 1848 been made a dogma of the Roman Church, but it was even then a “pious opinion,” and of that opinion Cardinal Bonfanti made unsparing use. It is hardly necessary to say that the Jesuits were not banished, and that their influence was allowed to become practically supreme. Nor—having said so much—can it be necessary to add that the Roman populace broke out into insurrection, and yelled out its defiance of the Jesuits and its hatred of priestly government. Unfortunately for the Pope, the municipality of Rome sided with the people. The cry of the mob was adopted as the programme of the respectable and wealthy classes, and when at last the demands of the citizens were

presented, the Pope felt himself compelled to yield. A constitution was granted, and Cardinal Antonelli, then the most Liberal—in profession—of the Sacred College, was placed at its head.

The new constitution was promulgated on the 14th of March. It was assuredly no great thing which the Pope thus conceded, but the people were thankful for it, and accepted it almost with enthusiasm. The principal point in it seems to have been that an unhesitating acceptance of all the dogmas of the Roman Church was an indispensable preliminary to employment in the Roman State. The censure was retained in order that the morals of orthodox Catholics might not be affronted by the publication of anything to which they were opposed, and the Sacred College—in other words the Jesuits—were made supreme. Beyond these concessions the Liberal Pope declared that he could not and would not go. A storm was, however, impending, and ere long it burst upon him. The people of the Northern provinces rebelled against their Austrian masters, and the popular feeling in Rome was vehemently on the side of the insurgents. The Pope was given to understand that the people expected him to take a part in this movement in the direction of national independence. To this demand he wholly and peremptorily refused to accede, thereby creating terrible exasperation in Rome. The National and the Republican parties coalesced, and for the time it seemed almost as though an open insurrection were impending. By way of pacifying the people, the Pope consented to send an army of 17,000 men to the frontier, but to satisfy his own conscience he gave the strictest orders to General Durando—to whom he had committed the command of the expedition—to do nothing. The army was bitterly disappointed at its enforced inactivity, and but

for the repeated efforts of its officers it would at once have fraternized with the Italian troops, and would have fought side by side with them against the Austrians. Distracted with the dread of an imminent mutiny in his camp, Durando sent to Rome for orders. The answer was worthy of the policy which had dictated the dispatch of this army to the frontier : "The Vicar of Christ could not make war upon his own children." His only object had been to maintain the integrity of the Papal States in case it should be threatened, and, that object attained, the expedition had accomplished all that was necessary. The Austrians were, however, extremely irritated by the attitude of General Durando, and when he moved upon the line of the Po, as he did shortly after, they professed to discover treachery in his acts, and having caught a Roman soldier within their lines they hanged him and sent back his body with an inscription to the effect that it was thus that Austria intended to serve all the soldiers of Pius the Ninth.

It was not probable that a threat of this kind could be passed over. Nor was it. Durando gave battle to the Austrians, only to find his acts disavowed in Rome. The effect of this step may be readily understood. The Austrian Government at once declared the Papal troops brigands and outlaws, and refused them the common courtesies of war. This vacillation of the Pope was the more inexcusable, since he was warned by his Ministers of the inevitable consequences of what he was doing. Naturally an immense amount of popular exasperation was created, and the position of the Government became from day to day more critical. The Ministry resigned, and an attempt was made to govern without one. So tremendous was the agitation created by the enthusiasts of Italian liberty and unity,

however, that a revolution was thought to be impending, and the Pope consequently found himself compelled to yield something to the popular demands. A new Ministry was accordingly formed on the 4th of May, at the head of which the Pope placed the Philosophical-Liberal Mamiani, who had formerly been exiled because of his political opinions. Under pressure from him and his colleagues, the Pope wrote to the Emperor of Austria, exhorting him in feeling terms to abandon his Italian possessions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Emperor wholly declined to do anything of the kind, and repudiated the right of the Pope to dictate to him on the subject. Against his own desire, the Pope thus found himself forced into an attitude of hostility to Austria, and compelled to give Durando full powers to act in case of necessity. The Pope occupied, however, a very curious position with regard to his Ministers. In public he was compelled to sanction their policy : in private he did his utmost to checkmate them. Such intrigues, no matter how skilfully they were managed, could not always be kept secret, and Mamiani was doubtless fully informed of them from the outset. The storm did not, however, burst in full force until the Roman Parliament met in June. Mamiani, as a matter of course, prepared the speech from the throne, but when it was submitted to the Pope he made such an infinity of alterations and corrections that the Minister felt himself bound to tender his resignation. The Pope dared not receive it, and as the acceptance of his programme was the only condition on which Mamiani would retain office, he read the speech as originally prepared, with the explanation that it by no means expressed his own views and wishes. A few days later, Mamiani resigned in earnest. His great scheme for the federal union of Italy had wholly failed, and the only

work accomplished by his Ministry was a few unimportant administrative reforms.

With the retirement of Mamiani no cessation of the difficulties of the Papal government was brought about. The strife of parties was as vehement as ever, and no peaceable arrangement seemed to be possible. Only a provisional government could be formed under Signor Fabri, and in a few weeks the impossibility of working it became fully manifest. Fabri therefore resigned, and was replaced by Pellegrino Rossi, a Constitutional, who had received his political education in France, at the feet of M. Guizot, and who was thoroughly imbued with the principles of *bourgeois* doctrinairism, as held by that eminent politician. Signor Rossi endeavoured to put his theories into practice, and held himself studiously aloof from party. The result was precisely what might have been anticipated. He failed signally in his attempts at conciliation, and made many enemies amongst both sections of public men. Outside, he was cordially hated by all parties, and thus, though impartial and moderate men were naturally shocked by the news, no one was greatly surprised to hear that he had been murdered, on the 15th of November, on the staircase of the Chamber of Deputies. This assassination was marked by some rather singular circumstances. It appears, from contemporary accounts, to have been perfectly well-known and understood in Rome, that Rossi was to be murdered. He himself was aware of the fact, but still no precautions were taken, beyond that of drawing up a battalion of the Civic Guard in the Piazza della Cancellaria. This body of men could—or would—do nothing. A number of the discharged soldiers of the Papal army, wearing their old uniforms and bearing daggers, were allowed to penetrate into the entrance hall, and to stand in a double line along

it. Rossi knew he was going to all but certain death, but he considered himself bound to brave it. No sooner had he set foot in the hall than a rush was made upon him. One Santi Costatini stabbed him in the neck and severed the carotid artery. In three minutes Rossi was dead, and his murderers were carrying the tale of their bloody work through Rome.

Scarcely had the news spread into the city when a popular disturbance of the fiercest sort broke out. Cardinal Palma, the Secretary of the Pope, was one of the first victims. The Pope was forced to barricade himself against the "faithful" people, whose enthusiasm on his behalf had been the source of so much congratulation but a few months before. Under popular pressure, he consented to nominate a new ministry with Mamiani, Sterbini, and Galetti at its head ; but of course, being in a position of such active hostility to those with whom he was condemned to work, he sought for means of escape.

Ferdinand II., that faithful and devoted son of the Church, readily complied with his request for asylum, and assigned him a residence at Gaeta, in the extreme north of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. From that point Pio Nono attempted to govern the Papal States, but, although the distance between his capital and himself was but little more than eighty miles, he failed conspicuously. He was several times invited to return to Rome, but he steadfastly refused. Mamiani attempted to carry on the government in his absence, but he refused to acknowledge his acts. Twice he nominated an Executive Commission to represent him, and each time the Commission refused to act. Thus matters came to a deadlock. The Pope would not return to his capital ; would not sanction the acts of his responsible Ministers ; would, in short, do nothing beyond maintaining

his right to do as he pleased. A head of the Government, of some kind, was absolutely essential ; and, since the Pope refused to take his proper place, the Chamber appointed a provisional government. This step evoked a new and most energetic protest from the Pope, the sequel to which was that Mamiani and his colleagues resigned, and the Chamber having declared its own dissolution, made an appeal to the country.

CHAPTER V.

THE POPE IN EXILE.

“ I must have Liberty

Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please.”—*As You Like It.*

THE march of events was rapid. A Constituent Assembly was elected by the people of the Papal States, and assembled in Rome on the 6th of February, 1849. Its first act was a revolutionary one, inasmuch as it pronounced the deposition of the Pope as a temporal sovereign two days after its convocation, and declared the future form of government to be the Democratic Republic. Italian Liberalism had not, however, become the negation of all religion which, in too many cases, it now is; and so, although the Pope was deprived of his temporal power, his spiritual supremacy was formally asserted. Ere many days had passed away, however, the religious difficulty came to the front. Mazzini was in Rome, and was, practically, master of the situation. His party, led by the well-known mob orator Cicerouacchio, was the dominant section of the new Government, and the first step which it took, on the establishment of the Republic, was to nominate him Triumvir. In that capacity he asserted the supremacy of the State over the Church, and, as the dignified clergy had for the most part fled from Rome to share the exile of the Pope, he obtained the services of a Liberal priest—there were such things in 1849—who filled the post of almoner of one of the city regiments, and secured the proper performance of the great “functions” of the Church, on Sunday, February 18th—the Sunday before

Lent. This was the last drop in the Pope's cup of bitterness. He had made Cardinal Antonelli send an appeal to the great Catholic powers—France, Austria, Spain, and Naples—for intervention, so soon as the Republic had been proclaimed in Rome ; and he had obviously hoped that the moral pressure which the representatives of those States might exercise upon the *de facto* government would be sufficient to bring about a change in his favour. That hope was now at an end. His spiritual powers, nominally guaranteed to him by the resolution of the Constituent Assembly on the 6th of February, were thus, within less than a fortnight, rudely invaded by the Republican Triumvir. He had been unwilling to draw the sword against his rebellious subjects so long as they respected his spiritual claims, but now that they were contemned, he was prepared to throw the scabbard away.

Singularly enough, the Catholic powers were by no means anxious to enter upon a new crusade for the benefit of the Holy Father. In the first place there were jealousies amongst them of a political kind which not all their ardour for religion could entirely cover : in the second there was, we may not unreasonably assume, a decided disinclination on the part of the representatives of certain highly civilized states to pose themselves as champions of a government which on the secular side had never been celebrated for its tenderness, or for its consideration for the rights of the people. Accordingly a great effort was made to secure a peaceful settlement. The Duc d'Harcourt, most cautious and most courteous of diplomatists, fancied for a time that a way out of the difficulty might be found by bringing forward the Constitutional party once more. Mamiani was consulted, and his friends of the late Ministry were taken into the council, but they one and all declared the

impossibility of re-establishing the old system. In their eyes there was but one course for the Pope to adopt, and that was to accept the situation and to content himself with the spiritual liberty proposed to be accorded to him.

They had not sufficiently reckoned on the probability of foreign intervention, or upon the pressure which the Pope felt that he could exercise upon the Catholic powers. With consummate art, France and Austria were played off against each other, and though the former state was under the government of a Republic, the Prince President (afterwards Emperor) was induced to send a force for the defence of the Pope, and for the purpose of compelling his people to submit once more to his rule. The campaign was a very short and a curiously uninteresting one, but unhappily it became necessary to bombard Rome, and to use the troops of the French republic against those of the republic of the Imperial City. The feature which strikes the English reader most strongly is the unreality of the whole matter. Rightly or wrongly, it is impossible to divest one's mind of the impression that both sides knew the campaign to be the merest pretence from first to last. Oudinot bungled his advance on Rome in such a way, that if it had had any serious meaning, it must have failed ignominiously, while the defence of the city was simply childish. There was a pretence of a siege, of a summons to surrender, and the rest of it ; but Mazzini and his friends knew perfectly well that they were but playing a part in an elaborate and rather sanguinary farce. When, on the night of the 21st of June, that farce came to an end by the occupation of the city, the Triumvirs put forth one of those manifestoes which read so amusingly after the lapse of a few years. "Romans," said they, "the enemy, traitorously and under cover of darkness, have put their foot upon the breach. Rome, arise !

Let the people arise in their might and scatter them. Let the breach be closed with their corpses ! Whosoever shall touch the sacred soil of Rome as an enemy is accursed of God ! Rise to battle ! Rise to victory ! Let every man to-day become a hero ! ” The tocsin was rung at Monte Citorio and the Capitol, but Rome obstinately refused the heroic invitation of the Triumvirs to choke the breach with the corpses of its citizens. Instead, the Assembly preferred to quibble over words in settling the preliminaries of peace. The French troops entered on the 3rd of July—not through the breach, but through the gates of the city—and with their arrival the Republic collapsed. Oudinot proclaimed the restoration of the Pope, and on the same day sent to him the keys of the City. The Assembly was dissolved on the following day, amidst general satisfaction. Mazzini’s power was gone, for the Assembly, like the people, had tired of him, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction when it was understood that since he was not allowed to carry on a desultory war in the Marches he had resigned his post as Triumvir.

Mazzini fled to Switzerland and thence to England, from which place of refuge he and his allies kept up a continuous fire of epigrams and assaults of a graver character on the Prince President Napoleon, who, having been elected to his responsible office by republicans, had used the troops under his orders for the purpose of re-establishing an ecclesiastical tyranny. They were careful of course to forget that their own government had not been remarkable for its merciful treatment of political opponents, and they were equally oblivious of the fact that by general consent the equilibrium of Europe required the independence of the Papal States. It was not because the late Emperor of the French loved Rome or the Papacy that he dispatched General Oudinot to reinstate the Pope, but because he

dreaded and mistrusted Austria. Had France not interfered, Austria would have most assuredly done so, and in that case "the counter revolution would," as M. de Lamoricière said, "have been complete." The reaction would have been complete also ; and those who can recall what was the state of things in the Northern provinces of Italy during the Austrian occupation can readily imagine what would have happened in Rome had the Pope been replaced on the throne by the Austrian devotees of arbitrary power.

As things were, Napoleon found himself in a most difficult position. Three courses were open to him. He might abstain from all interference ; in which case the Austrians would almost certainly have established a "white terror," while in France the clerical party might have found itself strong enough to embarrass his government very seriously. In the second place he might have espoused the cause of the Republicans, and so have plunged his country into a foreign war and insured the downfall of his own administration. A third course was open to him—that of helping to restore the Pope, and at the same time of insisting upon the observance of his constitutional obligations to his people. He adopted the last ; and greatly though he was then, and is still, condemned for doing so, it is probable that that course was the wisest. His sincerity as an advocate of liberty was soon put to the test. The city of Rome having fallen, it was expected that the Pope would return forthwith, and that peace and order would be re-established. The Republic, it is true, was dead, but the party of the Constitution was not, and there seems to have been no intelligible reason why a peaceful solution of the difficulty might not have been arrived at. Concessions on both sides were of course necessary, but a settlement was by no means either impracticable or hopeless.

Unhappily at this momentous crisis the Pope was painfully ill-advised. Rome was really by no means anxious that he should abandon his post, and when the Constituent Assembly had usurped the functions of his government, the Roman people felt bitterly the humiliation of living under an administration which was refused recognition by the great Powers. Had Pius IX. trusted fairly to his people, all might have been well. Had he even emancipated himself from the ascendancy of the Ultramontane and reactionary party all might still have been well. Such a phenomenon as a Constitutional Pope has, it is true, never been heard of, but there is no abstract reason for his non-existence. Supreme, and, if he and his followers choose to assume such a character, infallible, in ecclesiastical matters, he might nevertheless govern his dominions in temporal matters by the advice of responsible ministers. The clerical mind, no matter whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, is, however, very apt to adopt as its first article of faith its own infallibility in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. Pius IX. possessed that mind in the highest degree, and fifty years before Roman Catholics had ceased to denounce the notion of the personal infallibility of the Pope as a "Protestant slander," he held it with intense faith. The result was, that at the moment of crisis, when judicious concessions would have saved the temporal power, he entered upon that line of policy which ended in the loss of his dominions and in his becoming the "Prisoner of the Vatican."

Throughout the period of his residence in Gaeta he attempted to govern Rome from that retreat. Allocution after allocution was put forth, complaining in the bitterest terms of the "unheard-of and sacrilegious violence" to which he had been subjected. The diplomatic body were made the recipients of endless complaints and protests of

this kind. They had replied with offers of personal protection, and when the troubles first broke out he had literally the choice of at least four places of refuge. He elected, however, to remain in Gaeta, and very early in his residence he nominated a Commission to govern Rome under his orders. It is hardly necessary to add, however, that the Commission was utterly powerless. The Romans were intoxicated with liberty ; the lowest of the people took the highest places, and the leaders who had provoked the storm carefully evaded all responsibility. Thus it was that society fell to pieces, and that the opportunity for French intervention was afforded. The Government of the Republic was a farce and a make-believe, social order had all but ceased to exist, and though it was without doubt a bitter humiliation to the Roman people to find themselves indebted to the foreigner for the restoration of something approaching to order, it was unquestionably a relief when the pretence of government under Mazzini was brought to an end. Italy has indeed been strangely unfortunate in her heroes. Many of them are men of the noblest qualities ; some few have been charlatans of the most offensive type ; and some appear to think that there is no such thing as morality in politics, and that conspiracy and murder are allowable if only they are committed in the name of liberty. All (or almost all—for Cavour was a magnificent exception to the rule) suffer from a want of balance, and of that class Mazzini was perhaps the most conspicuous example. No one denies the loftiness or the purity of his motives, but it is beyond all question that his rule in Rome was a conspicuous failure, and that the educated classes hailed its downfall with intense satisfaction.

The favourable moment had come for Pius IX., but he failed to take advantage of it. General Oudinot, the

representative of Republican France, and the champion of social order, was in possession of Rome, and would have been glad to abandon that capital to its rightful sovereign. To such a step the Pope showed an invincible disinclination. Every effort was made to induce him to take it, but all these efforts only confirmed him in his obstinacy. He knew, as well as the Prince President himself, that France had interfered for his protection, only because if she had abstained from doing so Austria would have come to the front, and on the ground that public order demanded her intervention—an excuse which would have been something more than plausible—would have replaced the Pope on his throne, and would have not merely allowed him to exercise all the arbitrary and repressive power of his predecessors, but would have required him to do so. Still, however, the Pope refrained from taking the part which it was obviously the wish of the French Government that he should take, and which was practically the only one which it was either prudent or honourable to adopt. His love of Liberalism—the lofty aspirations with which he had commenced his reign, had vanished, partly through the influence of the reactionary cardinals by whom he was surrounded, partly, no doubt, from the experience he had acquired of what was meant in Rome by “Liberalism.” Accordingly, in spite of the most pressing instances, he declined to return to his capital. Instead of doing so he refused even the smallest concession, and remained in safety and seclusion at Gaeta.

On the 15th of July there was a *Te Deum* in St. Peter's for the success of the French arms. Guns were fired, bells rang, the whole city was *en fête*; one Cardinal intoned the sacred hymn; another preached the sermon. After all these solemnities General Oudinot, with a presumption which it is hard for sober-minded Englishmen

to understand, made a speech about the glories of France and the mercies of Providence, which had permitted that great nation to liberate Rome from a foreign yoke and to replace the Pope upon his throne. Then came a reply from the Cardinal and a benediction, more gun firing, more ringing of joy-bells, and more hopeful anticipations for the future.

Still, the Pope would not return. He might have done so with perfect safety to himself personally, for the French army of occupation was strong enough to maintain order and to punish all wrong-doers. That he was wanted is beyond question. The paternal form of government, of which he was the greatest representative, requires the personal presence of the sovereign on all occasions. Instead of coming, however, he addressed his "well-beloved subjects" in an allocution stuffed full with religious phraseology, and, very obviously, the production of Cardinal Altieri. "God," according to this pious document, "had lifted up his arm, and had commanded the tempestuous ocean of anarchy and impiety to be still." It was not the dread of Austrian intervention, and, by consequence, of Austrian supremacy, but the devout Catholicism of France which had led her to restore the Pope's government. But the Roman people, in the meantime, must be chastened for their iniquities by the absence of the Holy Father. When they were brought to a proper state of mind, the Pope would return "with an earnest desire to bring them comfort." In the meantime, Rome was to content itself with a Commission, and the Apostolic benediction—a cheap commodity, which Popes are very ready to bestow.

The Commissioners were three in number—Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli, and Altieri—and they arrived in Rome at the end of July. They soon began to show of what metal they were made. They had no sooner taken posses-

sion of their places, than they issued a decree, nullifying all the acts of the late “pretended government”—the government, that is to say, of the short-lived Roman Republic—and, early in September, they issued another which, practically, re-established the order of things which existed under Gregory XVI.* In the meantime, however,

* Of what that implied, a fair idea may be formed from a passage in the letter of that acute observer Lord Macaulay, dated 1838 :—“In this Government there is no avenue to distinction for any but priests. Every office of importance, diplomatic, financial, and judicial, is held by the clergy. A prelate, armed with most formidable powers, superintends the police of the streets. The military department is directed by a Commission over which a Cardinal presides. Some petty magistracy is the highest promotion to which a lawyer can look forward, and the greatest noble of this singular State can expect nothing better than some place in the Pope's household which may entitle him to walk in procession on the great festivals. Imagine what England would be if all the Members of Parliament, the Ministers, the Judges, the Ambassadors, the Governors of Colonies, the very Commanders-in-Chief and Lords of the Admiralty were, without an exception, bishops or priests ; and if the highest post open to the noblest, wealthiest, ablest and most ambitious layman were a Lordship of the Bedchamber. And yet this would not come up to the truth, for our clergy can marry ; but here every one who takes a wife cuts himself off for ever from all dignity and power, and puts himself into the same position as a Catholic in England before the Emancipation Bill. The Church is, therefore, filled with men who are led into it by ambition, and who, though they might have been useful and respectable as laymen, are hypocritical and immoral as Churchmen ; while on the other hand the State suffers greatly, for you may guess what sort of Secretaries at War and Chancellors of the Exchequer are likely to be found amongst bishops and canons. Corruption infects all the public offices. Old women above, liars and cheats below—that is the Papal administration. The States of the Pope are, I suppose, the worst governed in the civilized world ; and the imbecility of the police, the venality of the public servants, the desolation of the country, force themselves on the observation of the most heedless traveller.”

the Commissioners were not idle. They were endowed with ample powers, and the first use they made of them was to create a secret tribunal for the decision of matters of "faith and morals," which was, in everything but name, a revival of the detested Roman Inquisition. Under this head Liberalism was, of course, the greatest of crimes; and, to find out those who were guilty of it, spies were used on every possible occasion, and the powers of the always notorious and arbitrary police were enlarged. General Oudinot would gladly have enforced clemency, but the Commissioners wholly ignored him, and insolently denied his authority even to remonstrate with them concerning their internal policy. Day after day the system of reprisals went on. Arbitrary arrests were constantly made, and soon the prisons were as full of political prisoners and suspected persons as in the "good old days," when a word of discontent with the existing order of things, uttered in a Roman *café*, led to a domiciliary visit from the police, and a few weeks of "preventive detention" in one of the unwholesome prisons of the city.

For all these evils the French army of occupation was not unnaturally held responsible; and the consequence was that that force was treated by the people generally with the most savage hatred and contempt. Few people can surpass Italians in ingenuity of insult, and the Romans exhausted themselves on this occasion in showing how utterly detested was the presence of those who had come for the "liberation" of the Papal territory from the class which, in the language of Ultramontanism, was the "anarchical sect," the "few factious men," the "strangers and foreigners," who had created the late government. No French officer could go into a place of public resort without the almost inevitable certainty of insult, and even in

private society—if by any chance admitted to it—they were treated with somewhat scant courtesy. Nor were the actual government much more polite or more grateful. It was not long before the Prince-President found it necessary to complain that French soldiers were not merely treated with incivility by the Roman people, but that the authorities neglected to provide for their bodily necessities in a somewhat scandalous way. The men were, in short, ill fed and worse lodged, and complaints of their treatment were heard on all hands. Those complaints found a ready echo in France—or rather, perhaps, in Paris. Already the presence of an army of the Republic in Rome had become a source of difficulty to the government, from the simple fact that its supporters failed to understand the position, whilst its opponents of both the more extreme factions used it for their own ends. The friends of the government of that day failed to appreciate fully the danger in which France was from Austrian intrigue, and the uneasiness which every man of statesmanlike instinct in the country felt might arise at any moment. On the other hand, extreme partisans were not sorry to have an opportunity of embarrassing the government, each party in its own way and for its own ends. The Clericals and Legitimists distrusted the sincerity of Louis Napoleon, and his professions, and when they found that he had sanctioned the Roman expedition, they fancied that they could tie him down to serve their own purposes. Accordingly, they gave out, with an astonishing air of authority and certainty, that the expedition was tantamount to proof positive that the government of Louis Napoleon was wholly on their side. Some of the “blacks” went even so far as to hint that the Republic, as then constituted, was but a prelude to the restoration of Henri Cinq and the white banner of Legiti-

macy. The “reds,” in their turn, used the occasion with a more than equal astuteness. They adopted the view of the clericals, and studiously represented the conduct of the President as a proof of his hopelessly imbecile, and even dishonest, character. They were, undoubtedly, perfectly sincere in their distrust alike of him personally, and of his government; but, if they really entertained, for one moment, the notion that clerical influence was likely to influence very greatly the counsels of either, they displayed a singular ignorance of the President’s real character, and an equally singular want of appreciation of the gravity of the issues at stake.

Under the combined hostility of his opponents and weakness of his supporters, the Roman expedition of General Oudinot was rapidly becoming a source of very grave danger to the government of Louis Napoleon. At the critical moment, however, he came to the front, and, by one of those tactical movements of which, when left to himself, he was so consummate a master, he checkmated the enemies of his government, and to a great extent rehabilitated himself in the eyes of Europe. Recognizing the imperative necessity under which he was placed of proving to the world that the French Republic was not the slave of arbitrary power, he wrote to his *aide-de-camp*, Colonel Edgar Ney, by whom he was personally represented in Rome—the official representation being in the hands of two professional diplomatists, De Courcelles and De Reynéval— instructing him to convey a friendly warning to the Pope, to the effect that the French expedition had not been undertaken in order that popular liberty might be crushed out, either in Italy generally, or in the Papal States in particular, but in order that a struggle which was a source of social and political danger to the whole of Europe might be

brought to an end. Colonel Ney was further instructed to say, that if his Holiness desired to retain the support of France, he must accept the French programme, which included four principal items. The first was the immediate publication of a general and complete amnesty for political offences ; secondly, the transfer of all the more important political offices in the State from ecclesiastical to secular hands ; thirdly, the adoption of the Code Napoleon in lieu of the cumbrous and antiquated system of procedure in vogue in the Roman Courts ; and fourthly, the acceptance of a system of popular government.

There was, perhaps, nothing very extraordinary in the presentation of an ultimatum of this kind. There can, however, be no question that it angered the Pope extremely. He complained and hesitated. He dallied and compromised, and behaved generally as does a man who knows that he will eventually have to yield, but who is anxious to put off the evil day as long as possible. By way of proving that he was in earnest, Louis Napoleon caused instructions to be sent to the official representatives of his Government in Rome to put pressure on the Cardinals who were employed in executing the commands of the Pope. They accordingly did so, but the future Emperor of the French, astute as he was, had not calculated upon the force of inertia in human affairs. The Pope, and those who were working with him, knew perfectly well that the French intervention had gone too far for any retreat to be possible, and that although Louis Napoleon might be very anxious to induce the Roman Government to accept Liberal institutions, there was too great a dread of Austria and of her intrigues in Paris to allow of any withdrawal. The Commissioners were, however, anxious that there should be no open breach. They therefore temporized for a while, gave civil answers,

but scarcely moved in the matter until, in reply to somewhat more earnest solicitations than had yet been uttered, Cardinal Antonelli, as Secretary of State, addressed to M. de Courcelles and his colleague a note in which he declared that it was the Pope's intention to give his subjects such free institutions as were not inconsistent with the nature-of Government of the Supreme Pontiff. The note went on to say that the basis of those institutions would be "such as, while assuring all convenient liberty to the subjects of the Holy See, assured also the liberty and independence of his Holiness, which it is incumbent on him to maintain intact in the face of the Universe." With that note the hopes of those who believed in free institutions, and who had hoped that the Pope might by some means be persuaded to grant them, received a sudden check. It was, however, still hoped that the long-expected amnesty for political offenders would not be delayed, and some pressure was put upon the Cardinals to obtain it. It was not until the 19th of September that it was granted, and when it did come it was so overladen with exceptions and restrictions as to be perfectly valueless. The exclusion of such men as Mazzini was only natural. No sovereign prince can afford to be surrounded by men who are the avowed enemies of his Government and of his person, whose trade is conspiracy, whose business in life is intrigue, and who extol "tyrannicide" as a virtue. But there are limits to everything, and it certainly seems absurd to describe as an "amnesty," a pardon granted only upon the most onerous conditions, and hampered with so many restrictions as to render it practically valueless to at least one-half of those for the benefit of whom it was desired.

The French Government was, as it expressed itself, "grievously surprised" that its well-intentioned efforts had

met with so little success, but it was very generally felt that it could do practically nothing. Retirement from Rome would simply have implied a fresh revolution, and the extension of the Austrian dominion in Italy to an even greater extent than was implied in the mere occupation of Rome, while the exercise of anything beyond moral suasion over the Pope and his advisers would have stirred up discontent of no ordinary kind in the minds of the clerical party at home. The French Government was consequently fain to accept the situation with the best grace in its power; the Chambers endorsed its action, and thus commenced that occupation of Rome which came to an end only the other day. It was a thoroughly unfortunate business from beginning to end, but it was forced upon Louis Napoleon by circumstances which make the impartial reader feel that, however wrong it may have been, the late Emperor was in this case, as on a famous occasion later, more sinned against than sinning.

CHAPTER VI.

BACK IN ROME.

"SEC. COM.— . . . But indeed, sir, we make holiday to see Cæsar and to rejoice in his triumph.

MAR.—Wherefore rejoice? What conquest brings he home?
What tributaries follow him to Rome?"—*Julius Cæsar.*

AT last Pius IX. was persuaded to return to Rome. The Commission had not been very successful in governing, and it had certainly failed to conciliate the people, but it had contrived, with the aid of the French troops, to maintain order. What was, perhaps, more to the purpose so far as the Pope himself was concerned, it had made it evident to the French Government that to all attempts on its part to induce him to grant reforms in a liberal sense he would oppose a passive resistance, relying upon his dexterity in playing off Austria against the rival power, and of using the jealousies of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies as additional sources of influence. Before going back to Rome, however, the Pope made an excursion in the neighbouring kingdom of Naples. He left Gaeta in September, 1849, after a residence there of about nine months, and went in something more than royal state to Portici, where he remained until the spring of 1850. Whilst there the King (Ferdinand), his consort and his people, vied with each other in expressions of devotion, and when at Naples the Pope gave his blessing to the populace from a balcony of the royal palace,

it is said that between fifty and sixty thousand persons were present. Early in April it was considered safe for him to return to Rome, and he accordingly set out. The journey need not be a very long one—only a hundred and fifty miles, or thereabouts—but the Pope spent eight days over it. Ferdinand accompanied him to his frontier, and the pair parted with reciprocal endearments and expressions of esteem and attachment. On the 12th the Pope re-entered Rome in triumph. Eight Cardinals accompanied him, as well as the whole body of diplomatists. Nothing, in short, was wanting to his victory—not even popular applause. The crowd who eighteen months before would willingly have torn him limb from limb now screamed themselves hoarse with acclamations.

What they applauded for can hardly be known at this distance of time. If, however, they cheered their “Holy Father,” out of a devout sense of gratitude for what he was going to do for them, they must have been wofully disappointed within the next few months. The Pope had indeed come amongst his people again, but he had come in anything but a fatherly spirit. Whatever leanings he may at any time have had in the direction of Liberalism had been effectually extinguished during his exile. Repression was now the order of the day, and in spite of the protests of those who were charged with the maintenance of the Papal power—the French and Austrian officers, that is to say—every week witnessed new severities. To be known to have supported the Mazzinian republic was sufficient to render a man “suspect,” and by consequence liable to arbitrary arrest at any moment. To join a club where politics might be talked entailed similar consequences, and instances even occurred where persons who had joined an anti-tobacco society paid for their folly by a prolonged

stay in prison. Cardinal Antonelli, with his proverbial astuteness, nevertheless, contrived to keep the implied promise of constitutional reforms. On the 10th of September the Pope held a Consistory, in which he pronounced a solemn allocution, which, when read between the lines, would seem to mean that he intended to exercise the authority committed to him regardless of consequences, and without holding himself responsible to any power on earth. On the same day Antonelli announced certain reforms, which to those outside looked like the concession of a constitution. Henceforward there were to be a Council of State and a "Ministry." Presently afterwards came the creation of a Board of Finance for the regulation of taxation, and towards the close of November a new scheme for the government of Communes. All these changes were, however, mere attempts to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope. The Pope felt that there must be a show of doing something in the way of constitutional concession, but he was now, as always, determined to secure his own liberty and independence, which he held it to be "incumbent on him to maintain intact in the face of the universe." To do this was easy enough—so easy, indeed, as to sound almost like a joke. The Pope had his Council of State, his Board of Finance, his Ministry, his municipal and communal councils, but since he and Cardinal Antonelli between them nominated every member of those bodies their independence of action made but little difference to him. He was, in short, just as much a despotic sovereign as ever, though he made use of constitutional forms to carry out his irresponsible will.

The great mistake of the Pope at this time was in reverting to the rule under which every office in the State was handed over to ecclesiastical persons. A layman, by

the very fact of his being such, was excluded from every office of importance, and to those who know from what class the average Italian priest is drawn, the mischief resulting from this state of things will be readily intelligible. The result was a perpetual state of discontent, and a constant if suppressed grumbling. All the elements of insurrection were to be found in Rome, and, but for the absence of a leader such as Mazzini might have been, and the presence of the French army of occupation, a rebellion might have broken out at any moment. The knowledge that the Austrian forces were within a few miles of the frontier probably helped to maintain the peace, but neither the one thing nor the other prevented the Pope's Government from being extraordinarily unpopular, and himself from being personally hated with a rancour such as falls to the lot of few men. It is curious to remark by the way, that just as dissent is always strongest in a cathedral city in England, so the Pope is always most unpopular in his own capital. Gregory XVI. had been hated so bitterly, that in the revolutionary time his whilom subjects actually had observed the day of his death as a festival, but there was scarcely any period of his life when he was so personally unpopular as Pius IX. during the first few years after his return from Gaeta.

There is no question but that he felt this state of things deeply. Cut off as he was from family ties and family affections, thrown back upon himself by the accidents of his position, and yet hungering and thirsting for love and respect as few men have hungered and thirsted, it must have been saddening in the extreme to find himself shunned and detested by the very people who but a few years back had been almost frantic in their enthusiasm for him. Could he even at this time only have emancipated

himself from the mistaken idea of his duty which he had formed—could he but have shaken off the trammels which the “Company of Jesus” were winding round him—could he but have appreciated the fact that he was a king as well as a priest, and that whatever infallibility may attach to the latter office, none attaches to the former; all might have been well. He was priest first, then Pope, then King—but in all to himself infallible, and in all driven forward by an irresistible sense of duty. Pius IX. was very far from being a perfect hero, but there cannot be the smallest doubt that at this period, and from the time of his election to the Papedom, he was swayed by thoroughly conscientious motives.

CHAPTER VII.

PAPAL AGGRESSION AND A NEW DOGMA.

“ Tell him this tale ; and from the mouth of England
Add this much more, that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.”—*King John.*

“ New opinions,
Divers and dangerous, which are heresies.”—*Henry VIII.*

HIS ecclesiasticism had in the meanwhile exhibited itself in a very conspicuous way. On his return from Gaeta he held, as has been mentioned, a solemn Consistory, at which he delivered an allocution full of thanks to the Catholic powers for the support which they had given him, and full also of thanks to those non-Catholic powers which had served him almost equally well by holding back at the moment of crisis. Doubtless his gratitude was sufficiently sincere, but as regarded this country it assumed an extremely unpleasant form. Up to 1849, the Roman Church had been contented with toleration in this country—a toleration such as is granted by no other state in Europe, and, with the exception of the United States, by no other in the civilized world. Scarcely had the Pope returned from exile, however, when he discovered that the interests of “the faithful” in England had been shamefully neglected, and that a hierarchy of their own was a necessity. The result was a piece of insolence which Englishmen found it very hard to put up with, and which, three centuries

ago, would have entailed upon all concerned in it the penalties of a *præmunire*. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the Roman Church recognized the orders of the Church of England as valid, though irregular—just as at the present day the common law recognizes Scotch marriages ; and if an English clergyman “went over”—an event of very rare occurrence prior to 1830, by the way—his ordination was considered valid. By a stroke of his pen the Pope undid all this. The ancient and historical Sees of England he entirely ignored, and treating this country as a habitation of heathen he proceeded to parcel it out into dioceses under the primacy of the “Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.”

It was fortunate that he selected for this post a man of consummate tact, and of most courtly and insinuating manners ; but even Dr. Wiseman could not succeed in making his ecclesiastical intrusion into this country palatable to the mass of the people. The outcry against the Papal aggression will not be forgotten, and—though nothing ever came of it—it is probable that there never was a more really popular act than the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851. If, as time went on, all notion of taking proceedings under that act was dropped, it was mainly because Englishmen are happily possessed of a sense of humour, and very reasonably consider that if it pleases a gentleman to call himself Archbishop of Westminster or Bishop of Southwark, the matter is not one of much greater consequence to the world at large than the assumption of “territorial titles” by the upholders of freemasonry, or the burlesque knighthoods of the “Ancient Order of Buffaloes.” *

* Under date November 1, 1850, Macaulay writes :—“ Holland is angry and alarmed about the Papal Bull and the Archbishop of West-

The Pope's next step was, however, a more serious matter. He was, as all the world knows, from his earliest clerical days, ardently devoted to the service of the Blessed Virgin; and, throughout his ecclesiastical life, he had given himself to her exaltation. Up to 1849, however, Pius IX. had habitually used, with regard to her, only such expressions as may be heard at any time in the mouths of devout Roman Catholics—expressions which are sometimes offensive to Protestant ears, but which do not of necessity imply more than a devout reverence for her of whom it was said that "all generations should call her blessed." Pius IX. was, however, disposed to go a great deal further. His devout biographers—the authors of those ecstatic little books which, embellished with some of the worst productions of modern art, are to be found on half the railway bookstalls of Europe, side by side with the *Journal Amusant* and the *Journal pour Rire*—have told how his Holiness was cured of his epileptic tendencies by the especial intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and to that assumed fact may be assigned, by the way, some portion, at least, of the increased adoration which has been paid to her during the last quarter of a century. Be this as it may, it was evident that, so early as 1849, the Pope had determined on taking a step which should add something to the glories of the "Mother of God," the "Queen of Heaven," in the eyes of the Catholic world. From his exile at Gaeta, in February

minster. I am not; but I am not sorry that other people should take fright, for such fright is an additional security to us against that execrable superstition. I begin to feel the same disgust at the Anglo-Catholic and Roman Catholic cant which people, after the Restoration, felt for the Puritan cant. . . . I shall not at all wonder if this feeling should become general, and these follies should sink amidst a storm of laughter. Oh for a Butler!"

of that year, he sent forth letters to all the bishops who owned allegiance to him, asking their counsel and assistance with regard to the question of erecting into a dogma of the Church what had formerly been a mere matter of “pious opinion”—the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The logical consequences of this new addition to the creed of Christendom do not seem to have struck the Pope, his suffragans, or the estimable persons who have lately defended the new article of faith with so much enthusiasm. To those who, though outside the pale of the Roman Church, take an intelligent interest in her controversies, it is evident that the acceptance of this dogma is a death-blow to Christianity; that, if the Virgin were conceived without sin, her parents must have been sinless, and descended from a sinless line of ancestors. The conclusion, in fact, only requires to be stated in plain words to insure its rejection. Not so, however, did the five hundred Catholic bishops look at the matter.Appealed to by the Pope, they seized the opportunity for protesting that they had ever loved and honoured the Blessed Virgin above all the saints in the calendar, and that they desired nothing so much as the “definition” of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Well may the Roman historiographers speak—as they invariably do—of the “singular” devotion of the Catholic world to the *cultus* of the Virgin.

The end was, however, not yet. It was not until towards the end of 1854 that matters seemed ripe for the promulgation of this new dogma. The rumour of it had gone abroad, and the dignified clergy were flocking into Rome to give to this fresh article of faith the sanction of their presence. Some came by special invitation; many came without; but all were welcome. On the 8th of December the solemn farce was consummated. Fifty-three cardinals,

forty-two archbishops, and ninety bishops, with an immense congregation of the “faithful,” gathered beneath the dome of St. Peter’s, at early morning, to listen to the solemn enunciation of this latest addition to the creed. The ceremony was an imposing one. The Pope himself sang the mass, which was rendered with all the accompaniment of wind and stringed instruments, of men singers and of women singers, who could be pressed into the service. When the Mass was over, Cardinal Macchi, Dean of the Sacred College, solemnly entreated his Holiness to proceed to the definition of the doctrine. All had been settled before-hand, but, in accordance with the programme, it was considered necessary to implore the Divine guidance. Accordingly the whole assembly knelt, and the Pope, having solemnly intoned the first words of *Veni Creator Spiritus*, it was devoutly sung by all present. This done, there was a solemn pause, and then the Pope, rising, and turning to the people, announced his new dogma in words which have become historical :—

“ BY THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, AND
OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL, IN
HONOUR OF THE HOLY AND INDIVISIBLE TRINITY,
FOR THE DECORATION AND EXALTATION OF THE
BLESSED VIRGIN, TO THE EXALTATION OF THE
CATHOLIC FAITH, AND FOR THE INCREASE OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WE DECLARE, PRONOUNCE,
AND DEFINE, THAT IT IS A DOCTRINE REVEALED
BY GOD THAT THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN, BY THE
SINGULAR GRACE AND PRIVILEGE OF ALMIGHTY GOD,
AND OUT OF REGARD FOR THE MERITS OF JESUS
CHRIST, THE SAVIOUR OF THE HUMAN RACE, WAS
PRESERVED FREE FROM EVERY STAIN OF ORIGINAL

SIN FROM THE FIRST MOMENT OF HER CONCEPTION,
AND THIS, THEREFORE, IT BEHOVES ALL THE FAITH-
FUL CONSTANTLY AND FIRMLY TO BELIEVE."

Outside the Basilica tremendous rejoicings greeted the promulgation of the new dogma. Bread and meat were given away to the people with lavish generosity. There were fireworks and illuminations in the evening, and the Pope had the consolation of knowing that, if his rebellious children of Rome had objected to his presence amongst them, the millions of Catholics scattered all over the world had delighted to do him honour, and had sent their bishops as the best means of expressing their sentiments. The oddest part of the whole business remains, however, to be told. This new dogma has been formally pronounced heretical by the Church of Rome itself. It was never heard of until the sixteenth century; the Dominicans always combated it; the Franciscans only supported it, and the Council of Trent distinctly condemned it. It is true that for many years before 1854 the 8th of December was regularly observed as the festival of the "Immaculate Conception;" but these facts are unanswerable, and a sufficient comment on the declaration of Pius IX. that "it behoves all the faithful constantly and firmly to believe" this excrescence on the creed of Christianity. The fact that the dogma was added to the creeds without the authorization of a General Council has, furthermore, induced many devout Roman Catholics to refuse recognition to it. All Roman Catholics are not Ultramontanes.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMING STORM.

"Promising is the very air o' the time."—*Timon of Athens*.

FROM this time forward, and for some time to come, the interest of the Pope's life is somewhat of the smallest. His official biographers record with pious enthusiasm that two days after the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception he consecrated the Church of St. Paul, on the site of the Apostle's martyrdom in the Campagna, and that some months afterwards he paid a visit to the ruins of an ancient basilica, where he had a narrow escape from injury by a falling floor—an event which will probably become a miracle in the course of the next five-and-twenty years. Beyond such matters, however, there is nothing of any importance to record. The Pope stayed at home, fulfilling the functions of his sacred office, and the business of his government was carried on as before under the management of Antonelli. A storm was, however, brewing with alarming rapidity. Early in 1855 a Consistory was assembled, for the purpose of hearing the Pope's opinion of the conduct of the Piedmontese Government. That little sub-Alpine kingdom had offended his Holiness grievously in the past year. It had allowed a free press to be established within its limits; it had turned out the Jesuits; it had refused to allow the publications of the Vatican to be distributed amongst its subjects without the special per-

mission of the Government—a precaution which will be thought not altogether unnecessary, when it is remembered that those documents not unfrequently invited resistance to the lawful sovereign on religious grounds—and finally, it had exiled a couple of recalcitrant bishops and had allowed Protestants a limited amount of religious liberty. The Pope was naturally indignant. He saw “supreme and inviolable authority” set at naught, and he could not permit such a sacrilege. Accordingly, in the Consistory he solemnly announced that all laws and acts of the Piedmontese Government of this kind were null and void, and subjected those concerned in their making to the penalty of the greater excommunication.

Piedmont was not a powerful state, but it was strong enough to disregard the threats of the Papacy. Just at this time the question of the suppression of the religious corporations was under discussion in the Chambers, and the result of this tremendous allocution was simply to hurry forward the Bill. It was passed by enormous majorities, and within a few months 334 religious houses were suppressed. Such an act may be a piece of arbitrary confiscation, but when the size and population of Piedmont are considered, it is no matter for wonder that a religious establishment so outrageously overgrown as these figures imply should have been somewhat summarily pruned down. Not thus could the Pope look at the matter. In his eyes it was simply a measure of spoliation and robbery, and for the time he was almost inclined to place the whole of the little kingdom under an interdict. From that dreadful alternative he refrained, however, contenting himself with fulminating all the curses in his vocabulary against everybody who was concerned in the laws in question—under which head were included alike those who had proposed,

sanctioned, or approved them, as well as all who acted on them. The order on Heaven's Chancery was rather a large one, and it is impossible to avoid a certain amount of curiosity as to how far it was honoured.

For a while the anger of the Pope and of his counsellors seemed impotent enough. Even Spain had hardly displayed so much enthusiasm on his behalf as he might have not unreasonably expected, while Switzerland—always a somewhat restive member of the ecclesiastical team—had latterly shown herself extremely difficult to drive. Consolation was, however, on its way. On the 3rd of November, the Pope was able to announce to his assembled cardinals the conclusion of a Concordat with Austria. Everything had been settled in the sense which the Papacy most desired. Not merely had the Emperor sent a present of 100,000 florins in gold, in aid of the column to commemorate the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and for "other works of piety and mercy," but he accompanied the gift by something much more precious—an assurance, namely, that thenceforward the Church should be practically supreme in the Austrian Empire. The daily and weekly press was to submit to its censorship; education was to go on only in schools under clerical direction, and no books were to be published save such as the clergy approved. Once more all Europe was afame, and those who fancied that they could read the signs of the times, confidently announced this Concordat as the "beginning of the end," alike of clerical and political absolutism. How far their predictions have been justified can hardly now be estimated, but it is worthy of remark, that every fresh aggression of despotism on the natural liberties of men, has been followed by a more than corresponding reaction, and that no nations have ever afforded

such striking illustrations of the fact as Austria and Italy during the last twenty or thirty years.

Whilst these affairs were in course of transaction, the peace of Europe had been for the time destroyed by the dismal interlude of the Crimean War. Throughout that conflict Sardinia unquestionably assumed a much more important position amongst the nations than had hitherto been accorded to her, and, under the able guidance of Cavour, Italy was making the first steps towards unity and the consolidation of her forces. France was, however, still in the way, and the occupation of Rome by French troops was notoriously maintained at this time, as much for the sake of preventing the unification of Italy as to check the advance of Austria. Of this latter danger, little had indeed been heard since the Crimean war began, and, as a matter of fact, the danger had passed from the realms of actuality into those of potentiality. What was once a serious question of European politics was now maintained as a sort of standing bugbear for other purposes. The hollowness of the pretence was, however, never clearly visible until 1856. In that year, to the inexpressible gratification of France, the Empress Eugénie gave birth to a son. The nation was enraptured, and, when it became known that no less a personage than the Pope had consented to act as godfather, there were no limits to its enthusiasm. Cavour was not likely to lose such an opportunity for pressing on his darling scheme of a united Italy, nor did he. He did not, indeed, ask for what he wanted openly and ostentatiously—he knew too well the powers with whom he had to deal to make any such mistake—but he strove by putting pressure on the Roman Government to obtain something for his own country, and something also for his sympathisers in Rome. Accordingly, he urged upon the

French Government the advisability of requiring the Pope to carry out the programme which the Emperor had sketched out in his famous letter to Edgar Ney. Unhappily Cavour had in this matter reckoned with less than his usual astuteness. He may, indeed, have understood the very careful game which the Emperor Napoleon had just begun to play ; but of his doing so there is no absolute proof, whilst of the deadly opposition at that time existing between the Governments of France and Austria he seems to have had but a faint appreciation. For the time it is true that there was an apparent concord. The two powers were in joint occupation of Rome, but each was watching the other intently, and earnestly awaiting the moment when it might be possible to "let slip the dogs of war." That moment had not arrived in 1856. France was certainly not prostrated, but she was enfeebled by the struggle in the Crimea, and she needed time to recover herself before entering upon a fresh conflict with a power as strong as Austria was believed to be. No such movement as Cavour desired could have been made without provoking a conflict into which all Italy would assuredly have been drawn. Neither Italy nor France was strong enough at the moment, nor indeed could the little sub-Alpine kingdom have hoped to do very much against the enormous armaments of Austria. France therefore declined the struggle. It was ready enough to put moral pressure on the Papacy, and to a certain extent it did so, but of anything more decisive it was careful to wash its hands. Pius IX. comprehended the situation thoroughly—he being in truth a much more astute personage than his opponents have ever been willing to believe—and he gave the best of all possible answers to the spokesmen of France. He knew that the French army of occupation could not be withdrawn ;

he knew that at that moment France would not quarrel with Austria, and in the result he bestowed fair words upon his advisers and—as Lord Melbourne would have done under the circumstances—sat still.* Even when the people of the Legations—the inhabitants, that is to say, of the provinces of Romagna and Emilia—petitioned for the redress of the grievances under which they suffered, the Pope took no notice of their requests. As on many other occasions, he contented himself with opposing a passive resistance to unpleasant demands.

* “ Whenever you are in doubt,” he said, “ what should be done, do nothing.”—MELBOURNE’s *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 391.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN ALLIANCE.

“Take in that kingdom, and enfranchise that.”

Anthony and Cleopatra.

“The peace of heaven is theirs that lift their swords
In such a just and charitable war.”—*King John.*

To all who observed the course of European politics it was evident that this condition of things could not long continue. The period was, in fact, one of transition, and France was very obviously strengthening herself for the long-threatened breach with Austria. Pius had, as we have seen, returned to his capital early in 1850. From that time forward the strength of the Sub-Alpine kingdom had been rapidly increasing, and, in the able hands of Cavour, its influence in the councils of Europe had become considerable. At the same time the discontent of other parts of Italy was growing, so that towards the close of 1858 it was felt on all hands that Europe was on the eve of great events. Nor was much time left for expectation. On New Year's Day, 1859, the Emperor Napoleon fired the first shot. The usual reception was held at the Tuilleries, and the Emperor was observed to say a few special words to the Austrian Ambassador. “I regret,” said he, “that my relations with your Government are not so cordial as heretofore, but I beg you to tell your Emperor that my sentiments towards him personally remain unchanged.” The news of

this little speech spread over Europe with astonishing rapidity, and its first effect was to stimulate Austria to fresh military preparations, especially in her Italian provinces. What the communications with Italy were no one seems to know, but that the scheme was complete before the Emperor spoke is beyond question. Ten days later Victor Emmanuel, in opening the Piedmontese Chambers, referred in very significant terms to the unsettled state of affairs, and to the possibility of that war which was universally felt to be only a question of time. The Pope saw that something was impending by which he might be disagreeably affected, and, fearing apparently that his rival protectors might make Rome itself the seat of their struggles, he requested, through Cardinal Antonelli, that the armies of occupation which France and Austria maintained in his capital might be withdrawn—a request with which the two powers respectfully declined to comply.

The alliance between France and Piedmont was speedily a matter of notoriety. It was at first proposed to submit to a European Congress the question of the Austrian presence in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. To that proposal the Emperor Francis totally declined to accede, and war was consequently declared at the end of April. General Count Gyulai, commander of the 2nd *corps d'armée*, the headquarters of which were at Milan, was entrusted with the direction of the military operations in Piedmont, but, for reasons which it would require a volume the size of the present to explain, he failed after a first success to hold his ground. For a day or two it appeared as though he was about to carry all before him, but the engagement of Montebello speedily dispelled that notion. In June came the battles of Magenta and Solferino. After the first of these engagements the King entered Milan side

by side with the Emperor Napoleon, and the hopes of those who believed in a United Italy rose to the highest point. Those hopes were, however, somewhat damped by the sudden and unwelcome peace of Villafranca, which followed closely on the battle of Solferino. There were not wanting those who declared, in very positive terms, that the Emperor had been forced into the struggle with Austria against his will, that he had engaged in it only because he wanted a rectification of frontier by the annexation of Savoy and Nice, and that he would never have moved in the matter but for his early connection with the Italian secret societies—stories which were presumably ables, but which yet had a sufficient amount of probability to induce a good many people to believe them.

If, however, Napoleon III. at any moment imagined that he might succeed in stemming the current of Italy's advance, a very short experience must have undeceived him. The peace of Villafranca was indeed signed, but the populations of the states of Northern Italy refused in the plainest terms to remain separated from their brethren of Piedmont and Sardinia. One after another, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the Romagna, voted for annexation to Sardinia. Greater things were to come. Garibaldi, who had rendered yeoman's service at the head of the National Legion in the war, was not to be silenced by the peace of Villafranca. When, in the spring of 1860, the cession of Nice and Savoy to France, in payment for her services to the cause of Italian unity, was decided upon, he uttered the most energetic protest of which he was capable, and resigned his seat as deputy in the Sardinian Chamber. Then, with a daring which has seldom been equalled, he organized the biggest and most successful filibustering expedition ever known; for such, in truth—disguise

the fact how we may—was the attack upon Sicily. Its success has caused its irregularity and technical illegality to be condoned ; but there is no doubt whatever that those who protested against the system of private warfare were perfectly right. Nor, supposing the fortune of war to have been other than it was, could any reasonable complaint have been made if Francis II. had hanged the General and his lieutenants. Of course all this does not make Garibaldi less a hero, any more than the piratical character—according to the law of nations—of the expeditions of Drake and Raleigh weighs in the scale against their achievements. Englishmen will always be proud of their Elizabethan heroes, in spite of the technical irregularity of their conduct, and Italy, in like manner, will be proud of the guerilla chieftain who made her independence possible.

Garibaldi's expedition was an extraordinarily brave thing to undertake, but events proved that it was not a difficult matter to accomplish the end for which it was projected. The repressive policy of the Government of the two Sicilies had created for it a host of enemies amongst the people. There was, moreover, a general sense of insecurity. Brigandage was rampant, and the police seemed to exist for the sole purpose of annoying honest folk, and by no means for the repression of crime. Thus, when Garibaldi landed, he found all the elements of a successful insurrection—popular discontent, the strong feeling of desire for a united Italy, and a spirit of emulation excited by the successes which had already been gained in the North.

The expedition, consisting of two steamers, having on board about a thousand men of all nationalities, arrived at Marsala on the 12th of May, and was at once landed. The adventurers were joined forthwith by some native insurgents

and proceeded without delay in the work of organization. The Royalist troops attempted to force them back, but were compelled to retreat to Castelfioni. By the 27th of the month Garibaldi had made himself master of Palermo, and a somewhat desultory mountain war commenced which left him in possession of the whole island, with the exception of Messina, by the first of July. Three weeks later that town also capitulated, though not until after a very sanguinary resistance. It was useless for Garibaldi, at this moment, to look for support from Piedmont. That state was sufficiently embarrassed with the gentle pressure which was being put upon her by France and the other European powers, combined with the difficulties incidental to the creation of an administration for the states which had recently been annexed to her. The adventurous general, therefore, assumed the functions and title of Dictator of Sicily, and busied himself with preparations for an expedition to the mainland. It was not necessary to take much trouble about this matter. The Government of the Two Sicilies knew that further contention was practically useless, and therefore offered but a feeble resistance to his landing. Garabaldi announced a formal entry into Naples for the 8th of September, and so little could the King rely upon the faithfulness of his army, that on the night of the 7th he retreated to Capua. There, however, with that portion of the army which remained faithful to him, and with the assistance of some foreign sympathizers, he made a determined stand. Garibaldi's volunteers were brave enough in their way, but it was not easy for them to cope with disciplined troops. At one time there seemed to be, indeed, almost a probability of their being utterly defeated; but at the critical moment the Piedmontese troops came to the rescue and the last hopes of the defenders of Francis II. perished.

It cannot be said that any great amount of sorrow was felt in Europe over the downfall of Legitimism in the Two Sicilies. Francis II. had not been quite so bad as his father, Ferdinand, but he was of a character and disposition which forbade any hope of his improving as he grew older ; and the Constitution which his fears had induced him to grant when Garibaldi had conquered the Island of Sicily, might, it was felt, have been torn up at any moment. Europe certainly wished for no such ending to the matter —had certainly no desire to see an arbitrary power substituted for law, or such a state of things prevailing as that described by Mr. Gladstone in his letters to Lord Aberdeen : diplomatic relations with other states broken off, or carried on with the greatest difficulty ; the civil code set aside by royal decrees ; public instruction reduced to nothing ; art, literature, and science crushed out ; a censure of the most childishly-repressive and unreasonably irritating kind ; the priests—the most ignorant of their class in Europe—dominant everywhere ; the prisons, in consequence, crowded to overflowing with political and religious prisoners, and the best and most honourable men of the country driven into exile. These things were reasonably considered a scandal to Europe, and when the possibility of their recurrence in the future had been practically extinguished by Garibaldi's success, it was felt that he had done a service to the world and to humanity.

With the downfall of Francis II. the position of the Pope became exceedingly serious. The Radical party—or “party of action” as it preferred to call itself—was eager to march at once upon Rome and then upon Venetia, and undoubtedly such a step would have been popular in the extreme with a large proportion of the Italian people. It was not, however, the policy of Cavour. He had indeed

the unity of Italy as much at heart as any of those who were ready to accuse him of unworthy hesitation, and of cowardice in his policy ; but he recognized the fact which they failed to see, that in building up such an edifice as this it was necessary to proceed with the utmost care and caution, and that those qualities became the more essential the farther the work advanced. Fortunately for Italy, Garibaldi had not developed into the red-hot Republican he has become of late years, and supported the policy of Cavour. The result we all know. A popular vote was taken, and the entire country voted for annexation to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel.

The Pope was now left with "Rome and a garden" for his dominions. The beautiful scheme with which he had been amused on various occasions, for forming a great Italian confederation of constitutional states, had faded, like so much besides, into thin air, and the temporal power of the Pope was the merest shadow. Nevertheless, he determined to make an effort to regain his dominions by the help of that extraordinary force which, recruited from every state in the world, was paid by the universal contributions of the faithful. Whilst the events just related were in course of transaction, General Lamoricière arrived in Rome, with the tacit sanction of the French Government, to take command of these Zouaves, who, it was understood, were to act independently of the army of occupation. His opening manifesto explained that he had come to combat "the revolution," which he was pleased to describe as something worse than Mahomedanism. The Italian Government and people not unnaturally resented the appearance of this alien army, and very wisely used it as a pretext for intervention. Generals Fanti and Cialdini were accordingly dispatched with a sufficient force in

September, took possession of Pesaro, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Lamoricière at Castel Fidardo, and entered Ancona in triumph directly afterwards. The whole of the Roman states, with the exception of the capital itself, of Civita Vecchia, and of some small places occupied by the French troops, were thus handed over, amidst the enthusiasm of the populations to the newly-created kingdom of Italy.

The act of annexation was formally completed on the 5th of November, 1860. It was for Lamoricière a grievous ending to a long and honourable career. A brave and conscientious man, he had volunteered to lead the forlorn hope on behalf of the head of his religion. He found himself placed in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, “disappointed”—as he himself phrases it—on every hand, and in command of a force which, when all is done and said, was little better than an armed rabble. He had hoped for the support of France—at all events for the support of that “army of occupation” which was supposed to guarantee the integrity of the Pope’s dominions—and he looked for aid of some kind from Austria. Neither power came to his assistance. France had consented to his entering the service of the Vatican, but with that her recognition of his official position ended, and the Emperor, who a short time before had recommended the Pope to submit with as good a grace as might be to the inevitable, absolutely refused to coalesce with Austria, in order that he might coerce the newly-founded kingdom. M. Thiers, and those who worked with him, may probably have thought it desirable to check the progress of Italy, in the hope of thereby retaining the Mediterranean as a “French lake;” * but it is unquestionable

* The world is indebted for this expression to the blustering and vainglorious Prince de Joinville, who was so anxious to make war

that the sympathies of the people were strongly with Italy and her newborn liberties, and against those sympathies the Emperor would not go. Austria, on the other hand, sore and smarting with her recent defeats, was hardly likely to enter again upon a struggle in which she would lose the sympathies of Europe—in which, in short, she had everything to lose and nothing to gain. The end of the matter was, that Lamoricière found himself compelled to lead out, to what was little better than the shambles, an undisciplined mob of boys, and to finish an honourable career in obscurity and neglect.

It may possibly be asked why Italy should have adopted the course which it took in repressing the movements of Lamoricière and his force. The answer to this question is simply that the position of Italy at the moment was one of unprecedented difficulty. It was within the limits of possibility that the motley crew of disaffected Germans, superstitious Belgians, and fanatical Irishmen, who formed Lamoricière's army, might have sufficed to keep the Pope's rebellious subjects in order, but the Italian Government simply could not allow it to undertake the work. Had it done so, Garibaldi and his volunteers would unquestionably have had something to say in the matter, and in that case, if the Piedmontese refrained from interference, the French and Austrian Governments most certainly would not have followed their example, whilst if Victor Emmanuel had interfered with Garibaldi, he would at that juncture have

upon England in the “forties,” and who was so unmercifully laughed at by *Punch* before it had ceased to be a comic paper. The policy indicated by the phrase was that of M. Thiers—the bourgeois minister of a bourgeois king—and it affords a clue to many things in English foreign policy which without it would be difficult of explanation.

been in imminent danger of losing his crown. What was done was consequently the only thing that could have been done ; and if by the steps which were taken the new kingdom of Italy obtained the not very profitable dominion of Umbria and the Marches, Cavour and his master ought not to be very harshly judged.

Since that annexation the Pope has enjoyed an astonishing amount of liberty. Except in England and America, there is, in fact, no part of the world where Cavour's favourite formula—"a free Church, in a free State"—is more literally and absolutely carried out than in Italy. It has suited the Pope, and those about him, to represent him as the "Prisoner of the Vatican," and since the end of 1860 he has played the *rôle* of martyr with immense steadiness and gravity. It is, however, a fact, that he has at no time in his life been a prisoner in any sense of the word. He has always been free to come and to go exactly as he pleased. Had he chosen to transfer himself and his court to any other country, he would have been not merely permitted to do so, but would have been escorted on his way with the most ceremonious demonstrations of respect, and would have continued to enjoy the very handsome dotation with which it has pleased the Italian Government to provide him. Instead, he has chosen to remain in Rome, and, from the day when the result of the plébiscite in Umbria and the Marches was declared, he has not ceased to pour forth burning words of denunciation against all who have been concerned in the unification of Italy. At first there may, indeed, have been some sort of excuse. Already despoiled of the greatest part of his territories, he knew perfectly well that the seizure of the rest was only a question of time. As early as the spring of 1861, Cavour declared in the Italian Parliament, in solemn and memorable words,

the all-important fact, that the Government and the nation alike recognized the necessity for Rome as the capital of Italy. On the other hand, France, by an overwhelming vote, declared that, for the present at all events, that aspiration should not be gratified, and that the army of occupation should remain.

Whilst continuing its occupation, however, the French Government used its best offices to bring about some sort of reconciliation between the Pope and Victor Emmanuel. The French ambassador at Rome was instructed to press upon His Holiness the desirability of accepting the past as inevitable, and of considering such efforts of reconciliation as might be made from Turin. Later on we find the Italian Government warned by the Emperor, in an unmistakeable way, that France would not abandon the Holy Father, and that if he were driven out of Rome the Emperor would not hesitate to bring him back, and re-establish him by force if necessary.

Unfortunately for himself, and, in a measure, also for the cause of Italian Unity, Garibaldi would not believe that the Emperor was in earnest, or else imagined that at his voice all Italy would rise as one man for the capture of Rome. Accordingly, he organized one of the maddest expeditions ever devised. Early in July, 1862, he landed in Sicily, and got together a handful of volunteers, from whose midst he published a revolutionary address to the Hungarians, full of the rant and fustian which form the staple of republican eloquence. The object of the address was to induce the Hungarians to assist Italy, in consideration of assistance which Italy might render to Hungary in a rebellion against Austria. "Italy," said the General, "grateful, and honouring and blessing the memory of Tückery, who died for her, calls upon you to share her new

battles, and her new victories over despotism ; she invokes you, in the name of the holy brotherhood of the peoples, in the name of the welfare of all." Strangely enough, the Hungarians failed to appreciate this friendly invitation to them to engage in a very doubtful enterprise for the benefit of Italy; and General Klapka wrote back a rather pungent reply, in which he plainly told Garibaldi that, although he would gladly unite the forces of Hungary with those of Italy in a common assault on the Hapsburgs, he was not prepared to answer an appeal which "was not the voice of Italy, but of a man working to destroy his own glory."

Undaunted by this rebuff, Garibaldi led on his forces through the woods of Ficuzza. Afterwards he went into Catania, and, whilst engaged there, the King (3rd August, 1862) issued a proclamation, countersigned by his Ministers, in which he deplored the rashness of the "deluded and inexperienced young men" who were making Rome a watchword of war. He warned them against "guilty impatience and incautious agitation," and declared that a call to arms which did not come from the constitutional sovereign was "a call to rebellion and to civil war." Notwithstanding this proclamation, which was precisely the loyal and constitutional manifesto which might have been expected from Victor Emmanuel, Garibaldi still pressed on. Two French steamers landed him on the Calabrian coast, with the small force of volunteers at his disposal. He advanced upon Reggio, but was driven back by Col. Castiglione, and took up a position on some high ground at Aspromonte. On the 29th of August the Royalists and the Garibaldians met, and after a very brief skirmish, in which Garibaldi and his son Menotti were wounded, the revolt—such as it was—collapsed. Garibaldi was taken

prisoner and conveyed to Spezzia. From that place he issued rhetorical appeals to England on behalf of Italy, and the same course was followed by Mazzini. When, at last, he was amnestyed, he was almost ready to refuse the proffered clemency of the King. Why he should have felt sorely aggrieved may be readily understood. At the very moment when Italy was opposing his attempt upon Rome by force of arms, her Government was negotiating with the Ministers of the Emperor Napoleon for a settlement of the Roman question in the sense which he desired. And—what, in Garibaldi's eyes, was probably the cruellest blow of all—even whilst he lay prostrated with his wound, General Durando sent out a diplomatic circular denouncing the “rebellion,” but declaring the necessity for creating Rome the capital of Italy. The only effect of this circular was to evoke a sharp reply from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and to bring about a renewal of the temporizing policy.

The Italian Government was quite aware of the anxiety which prevailed in the minds of a certain influential section of French politicians to prevent the accomplishment of Italian unity, but Italy was not anxious to come into collision with a power to which she owed so much, and from which it was possible that she might in time obtain so much more. The Papacy, as usual, received all overtures in the same way. The answer was always *non possumus*. “When that which is not right is asked of us we cannot grant the petition,” said the Pope on one occasion ; “but if our forgiveness were asked instead, we should gladly grant it”—always, it must be understood, with the proviso that reparation and restitution should be made. These are notoriously the only terms upon which absolution is granted in spiritual matters, and the Papal Government has ever been an ecclesiastical government

in the strictest sense. For four weary years negotiations were carried on between France, Italy, and the Papacy, Garibaldi and his volunteers exercising a very important influence upon them—not by reason of any overt acts, but simply because the dread of their presence in Southern Italy was very strong in the mind of Cavour, though he was well aware at the same time that that very contingency was as much dreaded by the Emperor as by himself.

An understanding was at last arrived at, however, and on the 15th of September, 1864, a convention between Italy and France was signed. Italy, on her part, undertook to maintain the *status quo* in Rome, and to that end to remove her capital to Florence. France on her side undertook to withdraw her army of occupation. With that arrangement the Pope would, however, have nothing to do. Any attempt on the part of united Italy to relieve him of the cares of secular government was an outrage and a sacrilege, and with those who were guilty of it the head of the Church could hold no communication so long as they remained impenitent. A *bon mot* of this period is worth recording, as evidence alike of the cheerful disposition of the Pope under what he considered—not perhaps without reason from his point of view—an intolerable and scandalous persecution, and of the attitude which the Papacy maintained towards the King of Italy. Some one in his presence spoke of the King as “Victor Emmanuel.” “Ah,” said the Pope, “they may call his name Emmanuel, but which of his clique can say of a truth, ‘God with us?’”

CHAPTER X.

THE SYLLABUS.

"I would not my unhoused, free condition
Put into circumscription and confine
For the sea's worth."—*Othello*.

REDUCED thus to insignificance as a temporal sovereign, Pius IX. found all the more leisure to devote to spiritual affairs, and he asserted his supremacy in these matters in a very striking fashion. On the 8th of December, 1864, appeared the famous Encyclical, which showed more plainly than had ever been shown before how prodigious is the gulf between the Church of Rome and modern thought. This Encyclical letter, addressed to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops in communion with the Apostolic See, was accompanied by a syllabus of doctrines, theories, and principles which the Church declares to be anathema. These "principal errors of our time" consist of eighty propositions arranged under ten heads as follows :—

- 1st.—Pantheism, Naturalism and Absolute Rationalism, with seven propositions.
- 2nd.—Moderate Rationalism, with the same number of propositions.
- 3rd.—Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism, with four propositions.

- 4th.—Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, and Liberal Clerical Societies, all of which are included in one compendious curse.
- 5th.—Errors concerning the Church and its rights, consisting of twenty propositions, all of which are devised with the object of securing the independence, or to speak more accurately, the supremacy of the Church.
- 6th.—Errors relating to Civil Society, and to the connection between that Society and the Church, with fifteen propositions.
- 7th.—Errors concerning Christian and Natural Ethics, with nine propositions.
- 8th.—Errors concerning Christian marriage, with ten propositions.
- 9th.—Errors concerning the Temporal Dominion of the Roman Pontiff, with two propositions.
- 10th.—Errors concerning Modern Liberalism, with four propositions.

The Athanasian Creed, which most people are accustomed to consider a tolerably outspoken specimen of ecclesiastical vituperation, fades into insignificance by the side of this outrageous piece of denunciation. It is quite true that there was nothing very novel in it, seeing that most, if not all, of the propositions had been condemned in other ways on previous occasions, but never before had it been seen how completely the Church and society were at variance. Reduced to its elements, the Syllabus means simply that the Church has not merely abandoned no jot or tittle of her pretensions to rule mankind, but that she has reasserted those claims in the strongest terms to an absolute dominion, not alone over the consciences, but also over

the intellects of men. For the anathemas of the Syllabus are supported by no shred of reasoning, but simply and solely by the *ex cathedrâ* declarations of the Pope himself. An opinion has at some time or other been denounced by Pius IX. He has condemned it in an Encyclical, or denounced it in a speech. The Syllabus asserts that at such and such a time the opinion or the proposition was “confuted” by the Pope, and therefore condemns it with the usual *anathema sit*. It is, in short, now as of old : the infallible Church argues to the most amazing conclusions from the weakest premises. A real confutation of the errors condemned is never even attempted ; all that is done is to say that the Church objects to this or that proposition, and that, after that objection, any one who dares to believe it shall be accursed. Looking back over the gulf of years, however, it is not quite easy to understand the excitement which the publication of this famous document created.

Everybody knew that the Papacy claimed the “power of the keys,” and everybody knew the attitude which the Church assumed with regard to modern thought. When, therefore, the Pope formulated his position, there was really nothing very surprising in what he did : he was merely saying, in a solemn and formal way, the things which he had been saying informally and by implication during the whole of his life. Nevertheless, the publication of the Syllabus created an astonishing sensation, and, without doubt, helped on more than anything else the new reformation of which Germany has of late years been the theatre. Yet by this time the Syllabus ceases to trouble men very much. There is, of course, a certain fossil interest about it, as there is about all the formal and official acts of a personage whose spiritual utterances have for many millions of human beings an especial weight. But for the great

mass of educated Englishmen the era of theological controversy of the type suggested by the “Papal Aggression” of 1850, and by the *Syllabus* itself, has gone by, and is as dead as the controversy about the “Essays and Reviews” or the Gorham Case. When, in the course of 1877, the Pope proposed to constitute a regular episcopal hierarchy in Scotland, instead of delegating his functions to a Vicar Apostolic, hardly a voice was raised in protest, and probably not one person in ten thousand, not of the Roman obedience, troubled himself about the matter. So little sensation, indeed, was excited, that even the rumour that the Pope had sent his blessing by post to the Queen failed to do more than call forth a protest from one or other of those little knots of provincial busybodies who form, as it were, the necessary evils of our political system.

There is, however, one point in connection with the *Syllabus* which ought not to be passed over, and that is the somewhat striking fact that the Papacy has never, either in it or elsewhere, formally condemned those scandalous delusions which have done more than aught else to bring the Roman Church into contempt amongst men of education. The two instances of so-called “apparitions of the Virgin,” at La Salette and at Lourdes, at once suggest themselves. In the former case, a little boy and girl—one fourteen and the other eleven years of age—were keeping sheep on the side of the mountain of La Salette, in the department of Isère, on the 19th of September, 1846. On their return in the evening they told the people of the village that they had seen a lady in a shining robe, who walked over the grass without touching it, and who disappeared after telling them some wonderful things. Pressed to repeat what she had said, they told a story of the most absurd kind, which the clergy at once took under their

protection. In the following July, the Bishop of Grenoble, instead of dismissing the whole matter as a childish absurdity, ordered a solemn inquiry to be conducted by the Vicar-general of the diocese, who from the first had adopted the story of the children. This inquiry lasted for two years, and, as a matter of course, the authenticity of the miracle was declared to be established. Some of the clergy, however, persisted in their unbelief, and, in the end, Cardinal Bonald denied the miracle. The clergy, however, who had taken the same view as the Cardinal, were cited before the local ecclesiastical courts and compelled to accept this monstrous fable.

From the ecclesiastical courts the matter passed into the domain of the civil law. It had been said that the pretended "virgin" was a certain Mdlle. de la Merlière, formerly a nun, and then a lady of somewhat doubtful character. Her presence in La Salette on the day in question was proved, as also her intention of doing something "which should make posterity talk about her." She, however, commenced an action for the rehabilitation of her credit; but the witnesses against her were so numerous, and their evidence so coherent, that the Court of Grenoble decided in favour of her accusers, and condemned her in costs. She appealed; but, in spite of the advocacy of MM. Jules Favre and Bethmont, the Imperial Court of Grenoble confirmed the judgment of the Court below, though it forbade the publication of the report of the trial, in deference, it is to be presumed, to clerical influence.

In the course of these trials it came out in evidence that Mdlle. de la Merlière had played the same farce at other places, notably at the Convent of Laus, in the commune of Saillans; at Espeluches, near Montélimar; a second time at La Salette. All these so-called apparitions were

carefully hushed up by the clergy, on the ground, as described by one of the witnesses in the trial, that belief in this pretended miracle "would do good to religion." In spite of the decisions of the secular courts, the apparition is still a matter of faith. A chapel has been erected to Notre Dame de la Salette, near to which is a well said to have sprung from the tears of the Virgin, whilst hard by is a monastery. More than this—so recently as 1873 a pilgrimage was organized, to implore the intercession of "Notre Dame de la Salette" on behalf of "Rome and France."

Yet for this miracle, as for the absurd imitation of it by Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes twenty years later, the Papacy had no word of condemnation. The wickedness of belonging to a Bible Society, or of supposing that one might hold constitutional views in politics and yet remain a devout Catholic, is emphatically condemned by the Syllabus. To hold that the Pope can lawfully be deprived of his rights as a civil sovereign, is pronounced to be an opinion incompatible with Christianity, and sufficient to condemn the holder to eternal damnation. But to believe these wretched and childish impostures, to accept with implicit faith two of the most monstrous fables of modern times, is, by implication, pronounced meritorious. What wonder if, in some quarters at all events, the publication of this astounding doctrine has been followed by an outbreak of aggressive infidelity, or if many devout Roman Catholics reject with scorn the imputation of believing these extraordinary fables?

The one special interest attaching to the publication of the Syllabus would seem to be that it in a sense symbolizes—or, at the least, synchronizes with—the abandonment by the Pope of the secular side of his Church, and his

acceptance of a purely spiritual dominion. In the Russian and Greek Churches the clergy are divided into the “White” and the “Black.” From the ranks of the former are taken the bishops and patriarchs ; those of the latter supply the parochial clergy. In the same way, within the Church of Rome, there is, as the reader will probably remember, a strongly-marked distinction between the secular and the regular clergy ; the former numbering in their body the parish priests and their coadjutors, the latter including those vowed to an exclusively religious life in the cloister. In the Roman Church, however, the numbers are so vast that the two orders are, as it were, continually overlapping. It would seem as though men might belong to both classes, though, of course, in strictness, the distinction can never be erased. In the highest ranks of the Papal hierarchy, it is, to English notions, difficult in the extreme to solve the problem of orders and precedence. Thus a cardinal may be a cardinal in every sense of the term, but he may hold only the minor order of deacon ; and the question has even been raised whether it would not be possible to turn such a cardinal into a Pope. Instances have, indeed, been known of Cardinals who were not in Holy Orders at all, who were made “Princes of the Church” for purely political reasons. Such Cardinals could not, of course, vote in the Conclave, but in order to enable them to do so, they have been created sub-deacons, whilst it is confidently stated of one Pope—John XVIII. (1024)—that he was a layman to the day of his death. Then, again, arises another difficulty. The cardinals are Princes of the Church, but is their power political or ecclesiastical ? So long as the Pope retained his temporal power there was comparatively little doubt on this point. The Cardinals were clergy with very high temporal rank, and

it is hardly surprising if, after the manner of their kind, they cling somewhat tenaciously to it, and complain of the necessity of accepting an increased spiritual power in lieu of their old secular dignities. For a while there is no doubt that Pius IX. shared the feelings of his immediate Councillors. Gradually, and even rapidly, however, he recognized the fact, that, for him, temporal dominion was a thing of the past, and as he did so he threw himself more warmly into the arms of the Cardinals who had been "princes of the Church" in something more than name, and of the "Company of Jesus" who cared for earthly power, and wealth, and honour, only as they helped to advance and increase the glory and the power of that Church, of which they believed themselves the sole representatives and trustees.

It was under the influence of the Jesuits that Pius IX. made his first great move towards a more perfect spiritual empire. They saw that the temporal power was slipping fast from the feeble hands which held it, and with the astuteness with which they are usually, though not always reasonably, credited, they arranged the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Then came the Syllabus, which was designed, and very obviously designed, to prove that if Rome could not exercise a supreme influence over the political counsels of the world, she was at least strong enough to assert for herself a domination over the minds of men, to which if they submitted, political constitutions and political systems must perforce give way. But greater things were preparing which should show with a distinctness about which there could be no mistake, that the Pope designed for himself a spiritual supremacy such as had never been claimed, or even dreamed of, before. For some time things had been preparing for this spiritual

revolution. In 1867, there had been a great gathering of bishops and patriarchs in Rome, for the celebration of the Centenary of St. Peter. On this occasion the Pope hinted his intention of calling an Ecumenical Council to consider the evils by which the Church was afflicted. The proposal was received with some coldness, and when it was submitted to the Sacred College, the coldness became a negative. The Pope's own privy Council, in fact, were by no means of opinion that such a gathering was desirable, and said so as plainly as they could; but the Pope had at his back a stronger power than that of the College of Cardinals—the representatives of the "Black," or Secular clergy—in the "Company of Jesus," who represented what may fairly be called the "White," or Regular clergy of the Roman Church. Supported by them he was able to put on one side the remonstrances and the objections of his lawful counsellors, and to carry out his cherished plan to its fullest extent.

On their side the Company played their part to admiration. They invented a new *cultus*—that of devotion to the Sacred Heart—and a new object of pious enthusiasm—a formal vow "to profess and defend the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, even to the shedding of blood." The two grew side by side, and the only wonder to the mind of the unprejudiced onlooker is, that the Vatican Council was not called upon to affirm the one with the same authority as the other. Possibly, however, it was thought that the two additions to the creed of Christendom would together have been too much for even the docile followers of Jesuitism to swallow at once. Infallibility has, therefore, become a dogma, while the anthropomorphic "devotion to the Sacred Heart" remains in the inchoate stage of a "pious opinion."

CHAPTER XI.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

“ Hail ! you anointed deputies of Heaven.”—*King John.*

“ A noble company ! What are their pleasures ?”—*Henry VIII.*

ON the 29th of June, 1868, a Bull of Pius IX., confirming the anticipations of the preceding year, and of a more formal allocution of a week earlier, fixed the assembling of the Æcumenical Council for the 8th of December in the following year. The notice was long, but not perhaps too long, seeing that the Bishops, Archbishops, and Patriarchs, were to come from all parts of the world—from the two Americas, from India, from China, from Australasia—from, in a word, the remotest ends of the earth. At all events, its length insured its being obeyed, and when, on the morning of the 8th of December, 1869, the bells of all the churches of Rome announced the opening of the twentieth Æcumenical Council, the largest assembly of prelates ever known gathered within the historic walls of St. Peter’s. It is not quite certain how many of these high dignitaries were present at the opening of the ceremonial—at which, by the way, the Pope in defiance of precedent himself presided—but at the first counting of votes six hundred and seventy-

eight prelates were present.* Of these, nine were Patriarchs—four of the Western, five of the Eastern Rite. There were five Archbishop Primates, and more than a hundred and thirty Archbishops. Those readers, however, who have followed these pages, will not need to be told that the title of Archbishop in the Roman Church bears a meaning very different from that which it bears in the Church of England, and that it by no means follows that because a prelate is named Archbishop he is a greater personage than a Bishop, or that he exercises any jurisdiction whatever over other bishops. Of the Bishops, again, who made up the rank and file of the Council, it is probably no exaggeration to say, that two-fifths were bishops *in partibus*—bishops, that is to say, who held nominal dioceses, and who ruled over no clergy whatever. They could exercise episcopal functions by special license, confirm, ordain, and perform all the functions of the Episcopate, but they were, as a matter of fact, bishops without cure of souls. The same thing may be said of the Abbots, mitred and unmitred, the Abbots *Nullius*—abbots, that is to say, who had no monasteries to rule over—and the “Generals of Orders” who were admitted by “special grace” to the Council, but who, by the constitution of the Roman Church, had as much right to vote in an Ecumenical Council as the Heads of Houses at Oxford would have to vote

* Even these figures do not, by any means, represent the strength of the Roman Episcopate. According to the “Gotha Almanac for 1878,” there are one thousand one hundred and forty-five existing sees, of which one thousand and thirty-eight are occupied and one hundred and seven vacant. There are two hundred and seventy Bishops *in partibus*, and twenty-eight Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops have resigned their sees.

in a meeting of the Upper House of Convocation in the English Church. All were admitted, however, for the simple reason that the Pope had determined to make his Ecumenical Council the most imposing assembly of the kind the world had ever known.*

Into the details of the Vatican Council it is not necessary to enter, but a few points may be found of interest. Thus, for example, on the first day, when everything had been settled, and when all the world knew with tolerable accuracy what the Council had assembled to do, and what it was already determined that it should do ; the Pope, in the most solemn manner, commenced the intonation of that *Veni Creator* which has been used from time immemorial as the sanctification of predetermined acts. Then came a procession, beginning as usual with the lowest, and ending with the highest. Acolytes and choir boys ; incense bearers, and taper bearers ; Chamberlains and Chaplains ; Advocates, Prothonotaries, and Members of the Choir. Then an interval of clerks of the Chamber, Advocates, and Professors of Civil Law and Canon Law. Then came the Master of the Sacred Hospital, with two Chaplains, one carrying the Triple Crown, the other the Pope's mitre. At this point the secular part of the Procession came to an end. Those who followed were the Council proper. First came an incense bearer, preceding the Apostolic Sub Deacon, carrying the Papal Cross. Two acolytes supported him, and behind came the prelates in their order ; Abbots, Mitred Abbots, Bishops, Archbishops, Monsignori, Patriarchs,

* The expenses of entertaining this vast company were defrayed by the Pope, and were so great as to give occasion for one of the best of his *mots*—a pun which is absolutely untranslatable :—“ Facendo mi infallibile, faranno mi fallire.”

procession a man in purple vestments and a cope, and another in a monastic habit. Then followed the "Sedis" of Rome, the Treasurer of the Church, the Prelates, the Cardinal Deacon, and the Master of the Ceremonies and assist the Pope in his "Sedia Gestatrix" — her wonderful palanquin which in Rome bears the name of the which the august Founder of Christianity made His entrance into Jerusalem. The rear of the procession was brought up by a mixed medley of Clerics of Orders officials attached to the Council, secretaries, notaries, and short-hand writers.

The pageant was undoubtedly a singularly striking one, none the less so from the fact that the 8th of December being the festival of the remarkable dogma which the Pope has appended to the Christian religion, every ecclesiastic was vested in white. The great procession moved along to the Scala Regia and so to the great west doors of the Church and up the vast nave which for the first time since St. Peter's has existed was overfull. At the papal altar it halted and thence defiled into the south transept, which had been walled off for the purposes of the council. Over the door was inscribed in huge gilt letters the Latin words of St. Matthew's Gospel. "Teach all nations . . Lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world." The duty of keeping the door was entrusted to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem and to the Noble Guard alternately; to the former in right of an ancient privilege, to the latter as being the especial guardians of the Pope's person.

The hall itself was studiously simple in its decorations, but very imposing in proportions. As might have been expected, its acoustical conditions were very bad; but that was a matter of small consequence, the Council, as "Pom-

ponio Leto" * (whose account of the Council will be followed here) puts it—being summoned not for the purpose of deliberation but to vote as it was told.

It is, however, right to recall the fact, that amongst the many protests to which the proceedings of the Council gave rise, there were two : one from fifteen French Bishops who objected to the order of business, and especially to deferring everything to the question of infallibility, and one from forty prelates who asked for an alteration in the Council Chamber, so that their deliberations should be a reality and not a sham, that their speeches should be heard, and that there should be some guarantee that those speeches should be accurately reported by the official stenographers. That such requests should be peremptorily refused was a mere matter of course.

At last all was prepared. The business of the day had begun at 9 A.M. ; the procession had occupied some time in marshalling and in its progress—though, thanks to the proficiency of the Roman Ceremonarii in such matters, less than might have been expected—and thus it was eleven o'clock before the Pope was seated on his throne, and the representatives of his vast hierarchy gathered about him. The spectacle was then, however, an imposing, even an awful one. The Pope was surrounded by the representatives of those

* This pamphlet, which has for full title "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano. Impressioni di un contemporaneo, per Pomponio Leto," was published at Florence in 1873, and is universally attributed to Cardinal Vitelleschi, who is said to have issued it through the intervention of his brother the Marchese of the same name. Cardinal Manning, it is true, denies that the Cardinal had anything to do with the publication ; but with all modesty I may be allowed to hint that even a Cardinal may not be omniscient, and that the internal evidence of this work is too strong to be passed over.

who owned his spiritual sway from out of every nation under Heaven. Latins, Greeks, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Copts, Armenians—to say nothing of the younger nations of Europe and America. As Pomponio Leto remarks—"Assembled as they were on that day, they presented one of the most solemn and marvellous spectacles that could be offered to the eye of man . . . nor was it possible for any spectator, ill-disposed though he might be, not to be struck with wonder, less at the magnificence of the ceremony than at the vigour of the institution which after so many ages of existence could, without any more forcible means than a simple letter of invitation, bring together into the presence of a single man, from the remotest ends of the earth, an assembly of men of all nations, bound by a discipline which possesses scarcely any sensible sanction, and yet as regards many amongst them devoted to a degree unknown to any other assembly in the world to the voluntary and deliberate effacement of themselves." As soon as this vast assembly was placed, the Cardinal-Vicar began a solemn mass, after which the Bishop of Iconium preached a Latin sermon, and then the Pope, seated on his throne, "received the obedience" of the whole of that vast assemblage; which ceremony consists in each member individually kneeling before him and kissing his knee. Thrice thereafter did the Pope bless the assembly; and then wearing, not the triple crown, but a simple mitre to signify his episcopal character, he pronounced his first allocution in a state of high excitement and exaltation. At the end of the allocution more prayers were said, and the *Veni Creator* was once more intoned; the decree calling together the Council of the Vatican was read, and a formal vote taken as to whether its labours should begin. This being answered

in the affirmative, another hymn was sung, and the Council stood adjourned until the 6th of January, 1870.

It would be impossible in this place to give anything approaching to a complete history of this Vatican Council. The principal points may, however, be indicated in a comparatively brief compass. After the proceedings of the first day a committee of eight Cardinals was appointed for the conduct of business. These were Bilio, (who is said to have been the instigator of the Syllabus, and who is described by a recent writer as "intolerance personified 'and the knight-errant of Catholicism'") Bernabo, Reisach, Patrizi, Bizzarri, Caterini, Panebianco and Capalti. Six other committees were appointed, each of which was under the presidency of one of these Cardinals. Bilio took dogmatic theology under his care; Bernabo, Oriental affairs; Reisach, ecclesiastical polity; Patrizi, ceremonial (or to use the modern English dialect, "ritual"); Caterini ecclesiastical discipline, and Bizzarri matters concerning the religious Orders. It is not a little remarkable that the grand committee should with the exception of Reisach have been composed exclusively of Italian—*i.e.* Ultramontane—Cardinals, and that in a Council professing to be *Œcumene*ical and to represent "the Holy Church throughout all the world," no one not an Italian or disposed to support the extremest views of the Ultramontane party, should have been allowed a seat.

The explanation is, of course, simple enough. The Council was called for the one sole purpose of "defining" the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Pope, and that was known long ago as a doctrine of purely Italian origin. Thus, in 1822, Bishop Baines, one of the leading men amongst the English Vicars Apostolic wrote:—"Bellarmine and some other divines, chiefly Italians, have

believed the Pope infallible when proposing *ex cathedrâ* an article of faith. But in England or Ireland I do not believe that any Catholic" (and *à fortiori* any Catholic priest) "maintains the infallibility of the Pope." Cardinal Wiseman, writing at a later date, is even more explicit. He says that "the Catholic Church holds a dogma often proclaimed that, in defining matters of faith, *she* (*i.e.*, the Church—not the Pope) is infallible." "All agree that this infallibility resides in the unanimous suffrage of the Church." Papal Infallibility, he says, is "the Italian doctrine," "their opinion," and "their peculiar theory ;" that those who assert this opinion "manifestly cannot demand that their peculiar theory be received by others as the defined or acknowledged principle of the Church," and finally that, "neither think we that they could reasonably charge with misunderstanding their Church's doctrines such as would not so receive it." Seeing that these were notoriously the views of the northern prelates, with but a few exceptions, the preponderance of Italians in the Council, though striking, is not unintelligible.

It is hardly less remarkable that, although the council was styled Ecumenical, the proceedings of the committees should have been veiled, as they were, in the most profound secrecy, and yet that the organ of the Jesuits, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, should have been thoroughly informed not merely of what was done but of what was intended to be done, and should have announced the true programme of the Council long before the rest of the world knew more than that the committees had been appointed.

All these Committees were, however, no more than a blind for the true object of the Council—the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. To quote again from Pononio Leto :—"An address was carried round by the

Archbishop of Westminster and by the Fathers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, together with a letter to the Bishops urging them to demand from the Council the definition of personal infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith and morals. Other subjects might be talked about ; this was the ruling question of the gathering—the one subject for the Council of the Vatican. All other matters gave place, all were subordinate to this." Even the Corporeal Assumption of the Virgin, which had been announced as one of the dogmas which the Council would be called upon to define, faded into nothing before this omnipresent question of infallibility. It is worthy of remark, however, that in his famous letters, published immediately after the Council in the Vienna *Presse*, Count Harry von Arnim gives a somewhat different account of what was done and intended by the Jesuits on this occasion. According to these letters, the intention of the Pope was to carry the new dogma by a *coup de main*, and to dissolve the Council in three weeks. The principal address in favour of infallibility was got up, not by Archbishop Manning, but by the Bishops of Paderborn and Ratisbon—already known to the world as ardent Ultramontanes. It received five hundred signatures, almost all of which were those of Italian or Italianized prelates, Bishops *in partibus* and without cure of souls. However this may be, the prelates were not by any means anxious on the subject. Dr. Manning and the Bishop of Baltimore were the great supporters of the novel doctrine ; yet opposed to them were such men as Dupanloup, Strossmayer, and Reinkens. Extraordinary pressure was put on, yet still the noncontents held out ; but the approach of summer helped the Jesuits in their work. Protest was vain. There was no particular objection on the part of a considerable proportion of the Council to allow that the Pope in Council

was infallible, but an immense minority were strongly opposed to admitting for an instant that personal infallibility could attach to any single human being. Cardinal Guidi was willing to go so far, but in full Council he demanded that those who went farther should be *anathema*. All efforts, were, however, useless. The managers of the Council had determined that the dogma should be enunciated, and though the hot weather was beginning they insisted that the Council should not separate without accomplishing the work for which it had been called together. Even the Pope descended into the arena, and on the festival of Corpus Domini made a speech to the assembled prelates, in which he divided them into three bodies—the impenitent, who were dominated by a love of the world and who would not do as he wished ; the wavering, and those “who walked in the paths of the Lord,” *i.e.*, the Infallibilists. For the two former classes he promised to pray : to the third he gave his fervent benediction.

After all this, of course there was but little to be said. The heat increased, and the perspiring minority in vain entreated that they might be allowed some short respite. Their petition was refused, and the sittings of the Council continued. Many of the Bishops fell ill : some retired altogether from Rome. Still the Pope—or, rather, perhaps, his advisers of the Company—was inexorable, and with good reason. The dogma of Infallibility was supported mainly by the Southern Bishops, to whom a warm climate was natural, and opposed by those of the North, to whom such a climate was simply poisonous. To quote “Pomponio Leto” once more :—“It is difficult to describe the lassitude and discouragement which seized upon the constitutions accustomed to a climate so different during the prolonged sessions and arduous and painful toil of the

Council under a temperature which, to the Calabrian, the Spaniard, and the Mexican, was normal and agreeable. It is probable that these last had counted upon the effects on their brethren of 38° and 39° of Reaumur in the shade. This consideration had, doubtless, weight with the opposition when they begged for an adjournment. The South was, however, in the place of power, and the North could not obtain a hearing for this or for any other of its demands." Be this as it may, the pressure put on the minority speedily became irresistible, and on the 4th of July some thirty or forty Bishops of the Northern dioceses having left Rome, the Opposition decided upon a suspension of further hostilities. A week later the Council proceeded to the voting, and then it was discovered that some words had been added to the formula agreed upon—presumably by the Pope himself. It was, however, too late for remonstrance. The hottest period of the Roman summer was approaching, and resistance was practically at an end. Those Bishops who had moved amendments quietly dropped them, and on the 13th July the vote was taken. The result is memorable. The dogma, as settled by the Committee and amended by the Pope, was carried in this so-called "Ecumenical" Council by a vote of Placet, 451; Non-placet, 88; Juxta modum (*i.e.*, conditionally), 62. Ninety-one prelates, amongst whom was Antonelli, were absent—thirty had left Rome, and the remainder were obviously the abstentions of men who did not want to quarrel with the majority, but who would have voted *non-placet* had they dared.

The following is a literal translation of the text of the dogma:—

THEREFORE, WE, ADHERING FAITHFULLY TO THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AS WE HAVE

INHERITED THEM, TO THE GLORY OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR, TO THE EXALTATION OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, AND TO THE SALVATION OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLES, WITH THE APPROBATION OF THE SACRED COUNCIL TEACH AND DEFINE IT TO BE A DOGMA OF DIVINE REVELATION : THAT THE ROMAN PONTIFF WHEN SPEAKING *EX CATHEDRÀ*, THAT IS WHEN AS PASTOR AND TEACHER OF ALL CHRISTIANS, HE BY HIS SUPREME APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY DEFINES ANY DOCTRINE CONCERNING FAITH AND MORALS, AS NECESSARY TO BE HELD BY THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH, HAS PROMISED TO HIM BY THE DIVINE ASSISTANCE IN THE PERSON OF ST. PETER THAT INFALLIBILITY WITH WHICH THE DIVINE REDEEMER WILLED HIS CHURCH SHOULD BE PROVIDED IN DEFINING A DOCTRINE OF FAITH OR MORALS.

Many attempts were made by the dissentient bishops to obtain terms somewhat less hard than submission to this tremendous definition, but all without avail. On Sunday the 17th of July the Archbishop of Vicuna had an audience of the Pope, but to no purpose. He was received with some harshness, and his attempts at remonstrance were promptly suppressed. His return to his fellows was understood to be a sign that all was over. The protest which had been drawn up in anticipation of his failure was hastily signed, and on that same evening sixty-three of the most distinguished of the Bishops of the Roman obedience had fled from their capital in hot haste, "through fear," says Pomponio Leto, "that the victorious party might proceed to personal violence."

Of the capitulation of the minority it is difficult to speak in measured terms. There is not the smallest reason for

doubting that a little generalship and a little more persistency would have saved the Roman Church from this monstrous scandal. As we have seen, the ecclesiastical theory of infallibility, up to the date of the Vatican Council, was that there was such a thing, but that it was inherent, not in the Pope individually, but in the "unanimous suffrage of the Church." Had, therefore, the eighty-eight Bishops who voted "Non placet," the sixty-two who gave the new dogma a conditional support, and the ninety-one who quitted Rome before the final vote, had but the courage of their opinions, such a minority would have been seen to exist as would have effectually prevented the addition of this monstrous doctrine to the creed of Christendom. And what is, perhaps, of even more importance, it would have become manifest to the world that some of the greatest Bishops of the Roman Church were anti-Infallibilists. "Votes must be weighed as well as counted," was said by one of the greatest of English statesmen, and the Catholic world would doubtless have appreciated the truth of the saying when they saw that amongst those who opposed the pretensions of the Infallibilists were such men as Dupanloup and Strossmayer—Princes of the Church in the highest sense, men of untainted orthodoxy, and exercising an influence compared with which that of the most highly connected of the Bishops *in partibus* is as nothing. They, however, fled, and when infallibility had been solemnly proclaimed, they one by one succumbed to the pressure brought to bear upon them from without. Of all the great company of protesters against the novel dogma, only Strossmayer remains. Even Dupanloup has yielded, and with him not a few of the more important among the Northern Bishops. The great Servian prelate is, at the present time, literally the only Bishop of any consequence who has

refused to accept infallibility, and, what was most remarkable was the fact that, in spite of his attitude on this subject, he was until the last the most intimate personal friend of Pius IX.

But little remained to be done. Five hundred and thirty-five only remained out of the six hundred and seventy-eight prelates who had been present at the opening of the Council; and when at the last sitting, on the 18th of July, the question of Infallibility was once more put, there were but two dissentient voices—those of the Bishop of Little Rock in Arkansas and of the Bishop of Caiazzo in the Neapolitan territory. All other protesters were gone. Even Cardinal Guidi who had demanded the sentence of *anathema sit* against those who called for a declaration of personal infallibility was amongst those who cried *placet*, and some of the most distinguished of the opponents of the dogma were converted at the last moment.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PAPAL JUBILEES.

“Another general shout !
I do believe that these applauses are
For some new honours that are heaped on Cæsar.”
Julius Caesar.

WHILST the Pope was thus consolidating his position as a spiritual despot, events were moving rapidly towards the final overthrow of his temporal sovereignty. The year in which his personal infallibility was proclaimed to the world was a momentous one in the history of Europe. Urged on by the irresponsible politicians whom he had been forced to call to his Councils, and exasperated by the growing insolence of Prussia, the Emperor Napoleon III. rushed into a war for which he was totally unprepared, and, at the critical moment, found himself betrayed by the civil departments of his administration, and left, as to military affairs, in the hands of incompetent generals who had been promoted for the most insufficient reasons. When, on the 18th of July, the proclamation of Papal infallibility was made, France and Germany were locked in a struggle for life or death, and the concerns of Italy naturally sank into the background. A year or two before, it might have been a matter of importance to the French Government to maintain the temporal power and to prevent the unification of Italy ; but now, in face of the overwhelming odds by which France was opposed, the question

sank into insignificance. Far more important was the presence in France of the *corps d'armé*, which, since 1849, had guaranteed the independency of the Papacy. Scarcely, therefore, had the war begun when the withdrawal of these troops commenced, and on the 19th of August the last of them left Civitâ Vecchia.

Naturally enough this movement of France was seized upon by the Italian Legislature as an invitation to enter Rome, and to settle what was known as the "Roman Question," in the sense which was most agreeable to the national aspirations. Events were rapidly leading to a crisis. Jules Favre was consulted, but he was, of course, unable to move. The catastrophe of Sedan speedily followed, and then came the proclamation of the French Republic on the 4th of September. On the 8th, the Cavaliere Nigra made representations to Jules Favre, who, in reply, admitted that the Convention of the 15th of September was dead ; that he could not demand its execution, and that he would make no attempt to prevent the Italians from removing the seat of their Government to Rome. He went farther, indeed, and declared that, on the whole, he should prefer that the city should fall into the hands of Victor Emmanuel's Government rather than into those of "dangerous agitators"—by which phrase it is to be presumed the Republican Minister meant the Mazzinists and the "Reds" generally. From this moment, events marched rapidly. The Italian Government had informed the Powers that it intended to take possession of Rome, and no one made the smallest objection. On the 8th of September, Count Ponza di San Martino carried to the Pope an autograph letter from Victor Emmanuel, stating that, in the interests of order and public safety, he found himself under the necessity of occupying Rome, and it cannot be

denied that, with the removal of the French troops, forces had been let loose which might have brought about a revolution of a much worse character, so far as the Pope was concerned, than any which could have arisen through the change of government produced by the action of Victor Emmanuel. At the time, however, the Pope and his advisers firmly refused to see the matter in this light. To them, Victor Emmanuel was simply a usurper to be resisted *à outrance*. The resistance offered was, however, a mere burlesque. On the 19th of September, Pius IX. wrote to General Kanzler, who had succeeded Lamoricière in the command of the Zouaves, in the following terms :—

“ Now that the great sacrilege and enormous usurpation is about to be consummated, I desire to thank you, my general, for your willingness to dedicate yourself to the defence of this metropolis. The duration of the defence ought to consist merely in a protest sufficient to give evidence of the violence of the act against which we defend ourselves, and no more ; that is to say, open negotiations for a surrender of the city so soon as a breach shall have been effected.”

Anything more cruel or ill-advised than this determination of the Papal Government—for it is impossible to believe that the act was due to the personal initiative of the Pope—can with difficulty be imagined. A written protest would have done every whit as much for the temporal power as an abortive defence such as that foreshadowed in this note. The Papacy was, however, obstinate, and though Count von Arnim protested, in the name of humanity, a short resistance was offered which just sufficed to emphasize the Papal protest. Unfortunately, this resistance entailed the useless expenditure of twenty-one lives, and the wounding of one hundred and

seventeen officers and men. When so much had been done, Rome capitulated, and, with the exception of that part of it known as the Leonine city—in which are included the Vatican, St. Peter's, and the Castel di San Angelo—became part of the kingdom of Italy. The garrison went out with the honours of war, and the foreign troops were sent back, by the terms of the capitulation, to their own countries. The Italians were to be taken over without arms and retaining their present pay. On the 1st of October came the *plébiscite*—one of those solemn mockeries in which the Latin races are so fond of indulging, and the example of which was first set by the late Emperor of the French. The result on this occasion was, of course, a foregone conclusion, but probably no one ever expected such a result of the popular vote. When the numbers came to be declared they were found to be

| | In Rome. | In the Provinces. |
|----------------------|------------|-------------------|
| For Union with Italy | ... 40,785 | 133,681 |
| For the Pope | ... 46 | 1,507 |

after which, of course, there was no more to be said. The Cabinets of Europe recognized the facts, and followed up their declarations of neutrality before the fact with declarations of satisfaction equally striking.

No sooner had this unification of the Italian kingdom been completed than preparations were made for assuring to the Pope his perfect spiritual independence, and those personal and sovereign prerogatives which were promised him in the first decree of the Italian Government after the conquest of Rome. On his side, Pius IX. retreated to the recesses of the Vatican from whence he never afterwards emerged. It pleased him and his advisers to represent His Holiness as a prisoner, but it is a mere matter of fact that he was on no occasion placed under the smallest restraint.

Had he chosen to do so, he could at any moment have gone out from the Vatican, and have taken refuge in any country he pleased. Austria was said to be quite willing to receive him, but his position in that Empire would not have been more satisfactory than at Rome—if, indeed, it would have been quite so comfortable. At Rome he was at home, in the midst of the people of whom he knew most, amongst the scenes which were consecrated to him by the labours of a lifetime. He knew that his position was unimpeachable, and that, for its own sake, the Italian Government would not allow him to be molested, and would not deprive him of his personal liberty or private income. He therefore remained, and, from 1870 until the time of his death, he kept up a species of mock court, to which the Catholic Powers sent ambassadors, and at which even some Protestant States did not disdain to be informally represented. It may be that his income was somewhat reduced, but, on the other hand, his expenditure was reduced in a more than equivalent proportion, whilst the contributions of the faithful all over the world placed him in a position which might well be envied by many of the most wealthy amongst the temporal sovereigns of Europe.

It unfortunately suited the purposes of those who surrounded the Pope, however, to represent him as a martyr and a prisoner, and to make appeals *ad misericordiam* to the Catholic world. To read some of the little books about the “Prisoner of the Vatican,” it might be imagined that instead of being as free as air, and as wealthy as a Jew financier, the Pope had been loaded with chains, kept in a dungeon, deprived of all communication with his friends, and generally maltreated. Nothing of the kind is true, and though the Italian Government has, on the whole, wisely refrained from manifesting any uneasiness at the

preposterous charges brought against it, either absolutely or by implication, it has once or twice broken through its rule of silence, and has proclaimed to the civilized world the entire liberty of the Holy Father. Notably was this the case when, immediately after the capitulation of Rome, an Apostolic Letter announced to the Bishops of the Catholic world that the sessions of the Vatican Council were perforce suspended, because, under the "alien Power," the Fathers of that Council could not enjoy "that freedom security, and tranquillity necessary for treating the affairs of the Church." The appearance of this letter was followed by a brief and rather contemptuous memorandum from Signor Visconti Venosta, to the effect that if the Pope liked to call the Council together again, no human being would interfere to prevent him, and that, in short, he was quite welcome to do whatever he pleased. Pius IX. took advantage of this permission only by keeping himself strictly within the walls of the Vatican, but so much cannot be said for those about him. The Jesuit clergy under his protection have not ceased to pour forth from their press attacks upon the Italian Government and all connected with it, for which indecent is a term by far too mild. The iniquity culminated on the occasion of the death of Victor Emmanuel, when the clerical journals vied with each other in excess of indecency, indignity, and outrage.

With the year 1875 the "Prisoner of the Vatican" commenced the celebration of his "Jubilees." These festivities were two in number and of a somewhat different character, though much alike in intention and result. The first was Papal, the second Personal. That of 1875 was an official celebration of somewhat ancient date, and of a distinctly official character. The first had taken place in 1300, during the pontificate of Boniface VIII., who intended that it should

be repeated once every century. Fifty years later, however, Clement VI. ordered a second jubilee. Under Urban VI. the period between the jubilees was reduced to thirty-three years, and under Sixtus IV. to twenty-five years, at which interval it remained after 1475. The occasion was, in the first instance, unquestionably devised as a means of replenishing the Papal Treasury, and in that work there can be no doubt that it was perfectly successful. Tales are to be found in ecclesiastical histories of the wealth brought to Rome by the pilgrims—wealth which was on more than one occasion so great, that “two priests were constantly employed in sweeping up and carrying away the gold cast down before the altar of St. Peter.” Secular historians do not, indeed, speak quite so favourably of the religious aspect of these celebrations, and one or two have even hinted that for about two centuries they were made the excuse for a vast amount of debauchery and dissipation. They answered their purpose, however, and no one can be surprised that Pius IX. should have revived them. The last of these festivities had been held in 1825, that of 1850 having been pretermitted on account of the disorganized condition of affairs in Rome, and of the absence of the Pope at Gaeta. That of 1875 was held, it was confessed, under difficulties, but the fact that it was held at all is in itself a sufficient answer to those who lament so ostentatiously the “captivity” of the Pope.

The jubilee of 1875 was, however, only a preliminary to that of 1877, from which it differed by reason of its official character. The interval between the two gatherings was utilized to the utmost by the Ultramontane party and their tools, especially in France. Pilgrimages were organized from all parts of that country to the shrine of Notre Dame de Lourdes—pilgrimages which were the oddest jumble of

piety, patriotism, and protest against the growing influence of Germany that could well be imagined. The Virgin Mary was supposed, on remarkably insufficient grounds, to have appeared in a grotto of the Pyrenees to an ignorant peasant girl, and to have announced herself as "The Immaculate Conception?" Sceptical Frenchmen, when they do not deny the truth of the story altogether, find a very mundane interpretation for it, and probably few Englishmen—except, perhaps, Dr. Husenbeth—will even pretend to believe the story. Absurd though it be, however, it was made the pretext for endless half-political, half-religious displays, by which the Ultramontane clergy strove to identify their party with the Legitimist cause, and to protest alike against German aggression on the soil of France, and German severities upon the Ultramontane clergy. These last were, indeed, matters of legitimate protest. The German Government chose to regard the dogma of Infallibility as an attack upon itself, and the result was seen in the enactment of the notorious Falck Laws, under which, in one year, Protestant Germany fined or imprisoned five bishops and seventeen hundred priests of the Roman Church. The pilgrimage fever died out, however, under a little pressure from above, only to be renewed in the shape of pilgrimages to Rome with costly gifts, on the occasion of the second jubilee, though not until Pius IX. had dedicated universal Christendom to the worship of the Sacred Heart, an event which happened on the 16th of June, 1875.

The 3rd of June, 1877, was the jubilee of the Pope's consecration as Bishop. The seven years which had passed since he constituted himself the prisoner of the Vatican had been occupied in the blameless discharge of commonplace duties, or the enjoyment of common-place pleasures. A day in the Vatican has been so often, and without doubt

so accurately described, that it is unnecessary to reproduce the story here. Suffice it to say, that the Pope, having risen at six in the morning, said his mass, then heard a mass, breakfasted off coffee and bread, saw his cardinal secretary, received the heads of the congregations, foreign ambassadors, and visitors of whatever class they might be, and for these last he generally had a word or two of friendly or satirical remark. Thus, for example, when certain "Puseyites" once waited upon him and devoutly knelt to receive his blessing, he said, "I bless you with all my heart, dear foreigners, as I bless the Church bells. You are not of the Church, but you serve to call people to it." After his receptions, the Pope would retire for an hour for a walk in the gardens of the Vatican, or, in bad weather, in some one or other of its innumerable galleries. Then came dinner—a modest meal of two dishes with a glass or two of good wine—and, after dinner, a nap of an hour or two over the journals of the day. Another short walk, a light supper, and a little chat with a few of his attached friends, brought the day to a close. In Antonelli's time the Pope was wont to pass a part of his leisure at billiards, but after the death of his faithful secretary he played no more. Thus the tranquil current of his life glided by. Pilgrims from all parts of the world paid their homage and brought their tribute from time to time, and, in 1877, their numbers materially increased. For all, the "Prisoner of the Vatican" had kindly and friendly words—not perhaps particularly brilliant or original, but still characteristic and interesting. Some allowance must also be made for bodily suffering. Throughout the time of this second jubilee, Pius IX. suffered a martyrdom from sciatica, and those who know how painful a disease that is will hardly complain very loudly of want of originality, or of monotony of subject.

CHAPTER THE LAST.

CLOSING DAYS.

“Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history.”—*As You Like It.*

THE last days of Pius IX. were saddened by the deaths of many of his early companions and trusted friends. His favourite minister, Antonelli, died in 1876, leaving behind him a very large fortune and a legacy of scandal which, unquestionably, distressed the Pope exceedingly. Antonelli, who was notoriously an anti-Infallibilist, though destitute of the courage of his opinions, was succeeded by Cardinal Simeoni, an Infallibilist and Ultramontane of the most pronounced type, who is unquestionably, in no small degree, responsible for some of the less pleasing acts of the last two years of the Pope's life. It was, indeed, mainly through him that the fiction of “imprisonment” was kept up, and that a reconciliation with the Italian kingdom was prevented. The Pope himself was notoriously not unaverse to the conclusion of peace, and when Victor Emmanuel lay upon his death-bed, it is said that, but for external influences, a more formal and cordial demonstration of good feeling would have been made. After the death of his ancient antagonist, the Pope was perfectly willing to bury all animosities in the grave, and to allow the first King of Italy to be buried, as became him, in one of the Basilicas. So much pressure

was put upon him, however, by Cardinal Simeoni and the other members of his household, that the contemplated offer was never made, and Victor Emmanuel lies in the Pantheon, the first, we may hope, of a long line of Kings of Italy who may find their last resting-place in the ancient capital of the world.

During the later years of his life the great anxiety of Pius IX. was with regard to his successor. A vague Roman tradition, the authenticity of which is something more than dubious, runs to the effect that the Pope who sees the years of Peter has the right of nominating his successor. Seeing that Pius IX. is the only Pope who ever fulfilled the preliminary condition, it is impossible to attach much importance to the tradition, or to believe the common report that, in 1875, he made a "testamentary disposition" concerning his successor. The election of the Pope is not to be set aside so easily. Up to the time of Nicholas II., the matter rested in the hands of the Cardinals and Bishops at large. In the year 1059, however, that Pontiff, acting under the domination of the master mind of Hildebrand, confined the powers of election to the College of Cardinals, and that rule has been infringed but once—by the Council of Constance. The rule making a two-thirds majority of the Cardinals voting essential to a valid election, was established by Alexander III. in 1179, and has since been invariably observed. Nearly a century later, Gregory X. formulated, in detail, the entire code of rules for the election of popes, and added sundry small provisions—such as the interregnum of ten days between the death of one Pope and the election of his successor, the seclusion of the Cardinals from the outer world whilst the election was going on, and the details of place of meeting, manner of voting, and the like—which were confirmed by

Gregory XV. in 1621, and which have remained in force ever since. The French Revolution overthrew the Papacy, amongst other things, and converted the Pope into a vassal of the first Napoleon. Pius the VII. was elected in 1800 by a conclave which sat, not at Rome, but at Venice, and, as a matter of fact, his authority as Pope was always somewhat of the feeblest. "Do you suppose," said Napoleon I., on one occasion, "that I fear the Church when the Pope is my senior chaplain?" Succeeding conclaves were held, of course, at Rome, but in 1874, either dreading the growing power of the Italian Kingdom, or acting under pressure from the Ultramontane faction amongst the Cardinals, Pius IX. issued a Bull (*Apostolicae Sedis Munus*) for the regulation of the next Papal election. The reason given for this step was, to say the least, not precisely a truthful one. The Government of the kingdom of Italy had given assurances of its intention to respect all the spiritual rights of the Papacy, and had followed up those assurances by acts of pecuniary liberality, and by generally generous treatment which ought to have disarmed suspicion. Nevertheless, the Bull gravely announces the fear of the Pope that, "the next election cannot be freely conducted in Rome;" and, by way of remedy, accords to the College of Cardinals the right of going to "the principality of Monaco, some French city, or Malta." After the death of Victor Emmanuel, Simeoni and some of his fellow Cardinals were incessant in their exertions to induce the Pope to anticipate what might follow on his death by escaping from his "prison in the Vatican" to one or other of these places of refuge. Rumour, which is not invariably false, asserts that, wearied out with these bewildering and harassing entreaties, the Pope at last turned a deaf ear to them, and bluntly told his advisers that they might do what they liked after his death,

but that, for himself, he intended to stay in the Vatican and to die there.

During all the later years of his life, however, the question of the succession was a perennial source of anxiety, and, as might have been expected, he made strenuous efforts to solve it in his own way. Amongst the tactics on which he and his advisers placed the greatest reliance, was the manipulation of the College of Cardinals. This body, originally composed of the parish priests of Rome, is nominally seventy in number, in memory of those seventy disciples who, according to St. Luke, were sent forth for the Evangelization of the world. As a matter of fact, however, the members of the College have seldom been more than from fifty to sixty, and the conclave which elected Pius IX. himself was attended only by the former number. There were a few other cardinals, it is true, but they were not present, and exercised no influence over the deliberations of the rest. Very few princes of the Church were created by Pius IX. until recently, and by the close of 1873, the body had dwindled down to no more than forty-two. In December of that year, however, there was a fresh creation, and the Cardinalate was thus raised to fifty-four members. Six of the twelve thus endued with the scarlet stockings were Italians, and, by consequence, vehement devotees of infallibility; four others were also of Latin race, and the two remaining—Simor, the Hungarian, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, were notoriously Ultramontane in their views. No one of them was a man of the higher order of mind, and one, Tarquini, notoriously owed his election to the fact that he was one of the principal writers in that famous organ of ecclesiastical Billingsgate—the *Civiltà Cattolica*. This personage had once been clerk to a notary, but as he displayed a certain amount of ability he

had been taken on to the staff of the paper, and having attracted the notice of certain ecclesiastics high in office, he had taken orders, and though he had at no time a cure of souls he was nominally a priest. His new dignity did not last long, however, for he died within a few months, having exercised but little influence on the Councils of the Vatican.

As the College of Cardinals now stands, it consists of SIXTY-THREE members, divided into three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Of the first rank there are SIX—Cardinals Amat, di Pietro, Sacconi, Guidi, Bilio, and Morichini. All these were members of the Sacred College before the Infallibility Dogma was proclaimed, and two, if not three of them, are notoriously anti-Infallibilists who have submitted to circumstances. Of “Cardinal Priests” there are FORTY-EIGHT. Mgri. Schwartzenburg, Carafa, Asquini, Donnet, Pecci, Antonucci, Panebianco, de Luca, Bizzari, Pitra, de Bonnechose, Cullen, Hohenlohe, Bonaparte, Ferrieri, Berardi, Moreno, and Monaco la Valletta, were all appointed to the cardinalate before Infallibility was even talked of. Whilst, however, there are amongst them several who are notoriously Ultramontane in their views, there are also not a few who are rather old Catholics than new, and who would resent, as an insult, every proposal to class them with the more recent creations. Thus, for example, Cardinals Schwartzenburg, Donnet, de Bonnechose, Hohenlohe, and Bonaparte, are indubitably devout Catholics, but in all probability nothing would offend them more than to be told that they are blind instruments in the hands of the Jesuit faction, and, on the whole, it is probable that they are nothing of the sort. On the other hand, men like Pecci, Panebianco, Bizzari, Cullen, and Becardi are *Italianissimi*, and as such, devotees alike of infallibility, and

of the temporal power. The later creations were all intended to strengthen this party. The NINE surviving Cardinal Priests of 1873 are all Ultramontanes—Moraes, Cordoso, Regnier, Chigi, Franchi, Guibert, Oreglia, Simor, and Martinelli—and have all been selected for their devotion to the Vatican. Those of 1875 are even more distinctively Ultramontane in their views. They are amongst the Cardinal Priests—Giannelli, Ledochowski, McCloskey, Manning, Deschamps, Antici-Mattei, Simeoni, Bartolini, and Brossais St. Marc; and amongst the Cardinal Deacons—Randi and Pacca. Of this latter Order, four members were in existence at the time of the Vatican Council, two of whom, at least, were strongly Ultramontane. They were Cardinals Caterini, Mertel, Consolini, and Borromeo. The creations of 1876 were but two, but both the new Cardinals were Ultramontanes of the most pronounced type. The very names of D'Avanzo and Franzelini are sufficient to indicate the politics of their owners. In 1877 a grand creation of Cardinals took place. The order of Cardinal Priests was augmented by the addition of Mgri. Benavides, Agazzo, Garcia-Gil, Howard, Paga y Rico, Caverot, de Canossa, Serafini, Mihalovitz, Kutschker, and Parousi, whilst Mgri. Nina, Sbarretti, and du Falloux du Coudray were added to the list of Cardinal Deacons. All, without exception, are Ultramontanes of a very pronounced type, and a glance through the names will show that, with few exceptions, the new race of Cardinals are purely Italian—a fact which will probably suffice to account for the atmosphere of intrigue in which the last days of the Pope were spent.

Unless rumour was more than usually mendacious, the few days of life left to him after the death of Victor Emmanuel were sadly harassed by the pertinacity of the *Italianissimi*

who surrounded him. They were apparently anxious that his imprisonment in the Vatican should be as real as possible, and, finding that he would not, when at the point of death, undertake a journey into France, Austria, or Malta, they devoted themselves with astonishing zeal to the task of prejudicing him against the reigning family of Italy, and of widening the breach which notoriously existed between the Italian people and the Papal See. The *Civiltà Cattolica* was stimulated to print the most atrocious libels on Victor Emmanuel, and the Pope was given out as having instigated them. The libeller was admitted, with a tribute of "Peter's Pence," to an audience with the Holy Father, who, having thanked him for his pious zeal, was represented as expressing his gratitude for the devotion of this scribbler as exemplified in his libels on the memory of the Italian King. The Queen of Portugal again—Maria Pia—daughter of Victor Emmanuel, and goddaughter of the Pope, came to Rome to attend the funeral of her father. Her affection for the Holy Father was undoubted, and there is good reason to believe that it was cordially reciprocated. When, however, she wished to pay a visit to him, she was told by those about him that the only way to arrange the matter was for her to make a journey, say to Florence or Naples, and then, returning as the guest of the Portuguese Ambassador, pay a visit from thence. "The Holy Father could not receive a resident of the Quirinal." That Pius IX. was personal cognizant of this state of things, it is impossible for an instant, to believe. There is good reason to believe that he had forgiven Victor Emmanuel those wrongs which he considered him to have committed, and there is not the smallest ground for imagining that, even had he not done so, he would have wreaked a feeble vengeance on his own defenceless goddaughter.

Short time was, however, allowed for the working of these intrigues. From the day of Victor Emmanuel's death the feebleness of the Pope continued to increase. Still, however, he said his daily mass until physical weakness prevented his leaving his bed. To the very last, however, he maintained his courage and his cheerfulness. His sufferings were unquestionably great, and even grievous; but he bore them with singular fortitude and resignation, and to the last continued his pleasant jesting habit. Within the last two or three weeks, a young man is said to have been, by some special favour, admitted to him. "Well," said the Pope, "and what did you come to see at Rome?" "The funeral of King Victor Emmanuel," was the reply. "Bravo!" said the Pope. "Good! good! and what else?" "I came to see the antiquities of Rome," said the youth. The Pope, amused with his *gaucherie*, smiled, and said, "Very good! very good! I am an antiquity, and I suppose you came to see me for that reason." Last, and best of all, was the *mot* which the Pope is said to have uttered on the Tuesday before his death. He was lying in a state of half delirium, half dreaminess, imagining himself once more a boy in Sinigaglia. Suddenly he raised himself. "Ah!" he cried with much animation; "so death takes the odd trick."

He spoke from time to time after this, and on the 5th of February was well enough to leave his bed for a short space. His last act was one of kindly thoughtfulness for the welfare of those who were dependent upon him. On the day before his death he set his hand to a paper which had long been written, providing for the continuance of the salaries of his servants, and establishing a pension fund for the benefit of those who were superannuated. The exertion was, however, too great, and he was soon compelled to return. By midday on the 7th of February

all hope was over, and by five o'clock in the afternoon the struggle was over, and Pius IX. had gone over to the majority. It is scarcely for those who contemplate his open grave to attempt to sum up his character; but they may well and thankfully commemorate his kindness of heart, his ardent if perhaps mistaken piety, his sincere and amiable temper, and his general benevolence. He may not have been the wisest of men. Politically and theologically he may have been guilty of grave mistakes; but the worst that can be said of him will not alter the fact that, in any other position of life than the most conspicuous in the world, Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti would have won a most remarkable and most enviable reputation.

THE END.

17

